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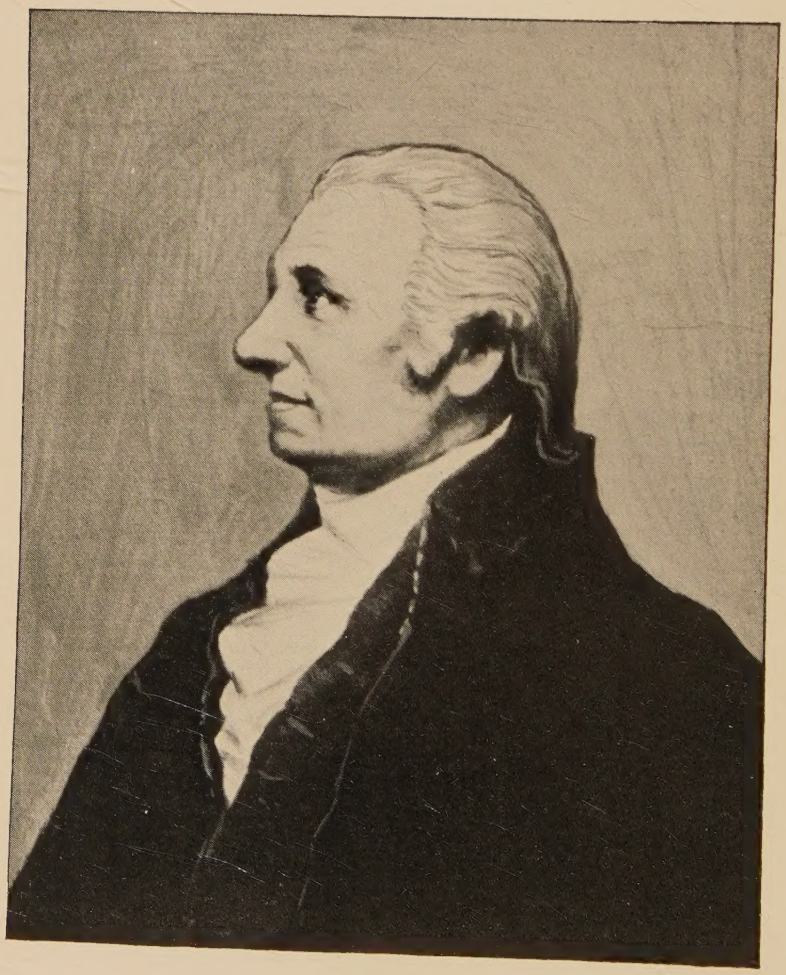

Sam Thurman

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OF THE

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SECOND SERIES, VOL. V

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SAMUEL FREEMAN—HIS LIFE AND SERVICES

SAMUEL FREEMAN — HIS LIFE AND SERVICES.

BY HIS GRANDSON, WILLIAM FREEMAN.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 24, 1893.

For a period of over sixty years, in the early history of Portland, Samuel Freeman was a prominent and conspicious figure in the religious, political and social life of her people. He came upon the stage during the most trying period of her life and history.

From the time Falmouth was ruthlessly destroyed by Mowat, through the exciting scenes of the Revolutionary war, through the depression in business which followed, and the poverty and distress which like a pall hung over the people and business of his native town, immediately prior to and during the war of 1812, through it all and during his long years of public life, and in the many responsible positions he held under the government, and in his state and town, the record shows that he worked faithfully for their best interest. No man was more strongly attached to Portland than he, and during this period he earnestly devoted his time, his influence and his efforts to promote her interests. The social, the moral, the religious and intellectual welfare of its

inhabitants, of all ages and all classes, was the object of his unceasing solicitude and care.

Rev. Ichabod Nichols, in a letter written in 1858, speaking of him says, "There is much in modern days to deepen our veneration for those ancient pillars both in church and state who resembled him, and I know of no one who has so strong a claim as he, to be remembered in Portland, as its active, virtuous, devout and watchful friend."

The historian, William Willis, in a letter dated May 11, 1859, said:—

> The present generation, all new, know little of that early race of benefactors, who labored hard and long in securing the advantages which are now enjoyed in our city. Among these benefactors your father was chief. But there are still many lingering on the borders of the grave, who look back with fond interest to that goodly procession of noble men who graced our community fifty or sixty years ago, but who have performed their mission and have moved on to their reward. . . . . How many good institutions your father established, or sustained! How much good he did to this community which is failed to be recorded! It is a gratification to me that I have done something to preserve to posterity the deeds and worth of many of these honored predecessors.

Samuel Freeman was the eldest son of Judge Enoch Freeman, who married Mary Wright of Eastham, August 31, 1742, and who moved the same year to Falmouth, now Portland. Samuel was born in Falmouth, June 15, 1743. He attended the common and private schools of his native town. At one time he was a pupil of Stephen Longfellow, from whom he imbibed his early lessons. He also attended courses

of lectures at Harvard College, and for a time studied natural philosophy and astronomy under Professor Winthrop, LL. D. His youthful days were spent in literary and mathematical studies, rather than in the common amusements and habits incident to boys of his age.

At the age of seventeen he, jointly with Joseph Noyes, Ebenezer Owen and Nathaniel Coffin, formed an association called "Society for the Promotion of Learning." Articles of agreement were drawn up and formally executed by the signatures of the four associates. A fine of four pence was imposed for the infringement of each rule, "to be applied to purchasing something that may be instrumental in promoting useful knowledge aforesaid." The first proposition was:—

That we meet once a week to consult together in order to attain a higher degree of this profitable and useful thing, learning, and that we may resolve upon something that may tend thereunto.

The tenth article reads as follows, viz.:—

That whereas the sense and meaning of words ought to be the care and study of everyone who would have his mind furnished with the useful knowledge of things of any kind (for without which no progress can be made) this proposal is, that at our first meeting we carry each of us in writing eight words with the true sense and meaning of them, and also a sentence which shall contain some good rule of life. We having promised the above and finding that it will be beneficial and serviceable to us, do freely agree to it.

Their first meeting was held Tuesday, June 17, 1761, at the shop or office of Major Enoch Freeman, Samuel's

father. Mention is made of this first society, originated by Mr. Freeman, and composed of four young men thirsting for knowledge, as at that time it was an unusual and remarkable thing. Books and publications at that date, 1761, were scarce and high and difficult to be procured.

The first rule of life presented by Samuel Freeman at the adjourned meeting held the nineteenth of March, 1761, indicates the early character of the man, and bent of his mind at the age of seventeen. His "rule of life" presented at the first meeting: —

> If you would be at peace with all men speak evil of none, and meddle not in others' affairs. If you would be happy, then strive to find out that which will make you so, and avoid everything that tends to the contrary. Shun bad, but frequent good company. Imitate that which is good, and do nothing that is a sin. Love learning, and endeavor to obtain wisdom.

At the age of twenty-two, and on his birthday, Jun 15, 1765, he commenced copying, in shorthand with a pen, the hymns in Tate and Brady's Edition of Psalms and Hymns, which he completed on the seventeenth of that month, being engaged a portion of three days in the work, writing one hundred and nine hymns in all. He also copied in shorthand, July 29, August 1, 3, 4, 5, 10, 1767, the one hundred and fifty Psalms in the same book and later the Essex Harmony, published in 1776, containing seventy-three hymns put to music and scored by him, the whole executed with a quill pen, displaying great mechanical skill, care and patience. Soon after this he wrote a treatise on shorthand. He also in his leisure moments, in 1790, made

among other curious things, what he termed a watch almanac, a very ingenious affair, displaying mechanical skill, astronomical knowledge and patience, and good eyesight, and executed with a quill pen.

After he had completed his studies, he assisted his father, who was register of deeds and judge of the court of common pleas, in tending his shop and writing in his office.

The year he became of age, 1764, he taught a public school on the Neck in Falmouth, and afterward a private school, in 1766, at the solicitation of a number of gentlemen in that town. In 1767, he gave up school teaching to take charge of Captain Alexander Ross' business while Captain Ross was absent in England to be treated for a disease which proved fatal. Subsequently, acted as agent in settling up the estate for the widow and administering on other estates. In 1770 and 1771 he kept store for Mr. Wendall, agent for procuring cargoes for mast ships.

In 1772 he traded for himself, and loaded a ship with masts and spars for England. In 1773 kept store for Mr. Horten.

The proprietors' records of Thorndike township show that he was a land surveyor early in life, but we cannot find that he practiced that occupation to any great extent.

The year 1774 proved an eventful one in the history of Falmouth, and in the life of the subject of this paper. The part he took in the public affairs of the town, state and country at that period, immediately preceding and during the progress of the war

of the Revolution, has been told by your historian, William Willis, in his History of Portland, and other writings.

Alden Bradford, LL. D., in his Notices of Distinguished Men of New England, in an extended notice of him, said: —

> Samuel Freeman Esquire, of Falmouth, was quite a young man when the war of the Revolution began in 1775; but he studied the nature of the political controversy then existing between the colonies and the parent government in England, and soon became decided and zealous on the part of the former. . . . .
>
> When a house of representatives met in July, 1775, Mr. Freeman was appointed clerk. He had quick perceptions and was prompt in preparing all papers necessary for one in the office he held. He continued faithful to the interest of the country, and during a long life he filled several important offices in his native town and the county of Cumberland.

He was in the truest sense a patriot, and was prominent among those who in the beginning resisted the oppression of the mother country, and who carried with them by their labor, patriotic zeal and influence, the great body of liberty-loving people in ancient Falmouth, and old Cumberland county, the first town in the district of Maine, it is said, to unite with Massachusetts in opposing the tyranny of Great Britain.

In January, 1774, then thirty-one years of age, Mr. Freeman, at a meeting of the citizens of Falmouth, was chosen, with Jedediah Preble, Richard Codman, John Wait, Enoch Freeman, Benjamin Winslow and John Butler a committee "to answer several letters received from the committee of correspondence in Boston to

report what ought to be done for the public welfare under the alarming circumstances."

On the third of February, 1774, this committee made a long, able and patriotic report to the town, setting forth their grievances and accompanied with a set of spirited resolutions. The same men were made a committee of correspondence, it being the "first committee of the kind raised by the town."

On the twenty-fifth of August of the same year (1774), he, with Enoch Freeman, Stephen Longfellow, Enoch Ilsley, Richard Codman, and John Waite, were appointed a committee "on occasion," as was alleged "of a circular from Boston altering the course of justice and annihilating the constitution of the province." "The meeting condemned these obnoxious measures, and recommended that a convention of delegates from all the towns in the county should be held in order that there should be a concert of action."

This convention was held in Falmouth, September 21, 1774. Samuel Freeman, one of the delegates, was chosen secretary, and his father, Enoch Freeman, president of the convention. At this meeting a committee of thirteen, of whom Samuel Freeman was chairman, was chosen to draw up the sentiments of the convention and report at their next meeting. This report, made memorable by subsequent events, was offered at the adjourned meeting held in the town hall the next day, September 22, 1774. There seems to be no doubt but this report was drawn up by Samuel Freeman and was presented to, and adopted by the convention. Portions of it read like the

Declaration of Independence. "Willis" in his History of Portland, says :—

> This report was believed to be drawn up by the late Judge Freeman, who was secretary of the convention and chairman of the committee.

What purports to be the original with its erasures and interlineations, all in his handwriting has been in possession of his descendants and seen by many persons.

The affairs of the town as respected war and public measures were conducted chiefly by a committee of correspondence, safety and inspection, at whose meetings he took a conspicuous and leading part.

In 1775, then thirty-two years of age, he was chosen sole delegate from Falmouth to the provincial congress and was re-elected in 1776 and 1778, "and at the third session of the congress, held in 1775, he was chosen secretary by an unanimous vote, Colonel Benjamin Lincoln having declined a reëlection." When a house of representatives was convened in July, 1775, he was chosen clerk, which office he held until 1781, and most, if not all the time he was a member of that body. Some of the records of the house are missing and the fact that he was a member in 1779 does not appear except by inference.

In a paper from the archive clerk at the state house Boston, we find that part of the journal of the house for 1779, which gives the names of its members, is missing, "but there is a record of a resolve granting Samuel Freeman pay for his services as clerk in 1779, also another for 1780, for his services that year, and the records of

those days show that the clerks were chosen from the members of the house, and they were in the habit of acting as speaker in the absence of the speaker, and we find a resolve granting pay to a member of the general court for acting as clerk while the clerk acted as speaker." We find a memorandum in Mr. Freeman's handwriting, made by him late in life, which indicates that he was both a member and clerk, for he says that from 1776 to 1780 he attended the general court as a member and clerk of the house. In further confirmation of this, and as showing the depreciation of the paper money of that day, we quote from a letter written by him to his father, May 15, 1780.

When I got to Boston I examined my purse, if I may so call the parchment that held my paper money, and found I had just ten dollars left. What I shall have granted I do not know, but out of it I shall have my board to pay which, supposing the court to sit six weeks, will be at least five hundred and forty dollars; for the horse I bought last fall about six hundred dollars (better have given him away); for the tickets about three hundred dollars; to Mr. Lewis (money I borrowed) one hundred and eighty dollars. What can a body do?

In a memorandum book under date of May 5, 1776, is this minute, viz.: —

Grant for my services last year (1775), as clerk of the house £163–19–9; and another dated in May, 1777. For services as clerk of the house £160 for the year 1776.

The records in the archives of Massachusetts also show that he was an active, working and influential member while in the provincial congress, and a member of the general court, originating and aiding in carrying through many measures for the benefit of his

native state and town, and at the same time kept its records, which are a marvel of good penmanship. He had, too, a peculiar talent as a draughtsman, which was often put in requisition while in the provincial congress. He had the honor to preside in the house of representatives May 10, 1776, when the resolution was passed and signed by him, as speaker of the house, which recommended the inhabitants of all the towns in the colonies to assemble in "full meeting" and "instruct those who should represent them at the next general court, that in case congress should declare the colonies independent of the kingdom of Great Britain, that they should solemnly engage with their lives and fortunes to support the measure." The action of the towns is matter of history. They responded to the call with alacrity, and the inhabitants of no town were more ready to declare for independence than those of the town of Falmouth. During the trying scenes of the Revolution his duties brought him in communication and correspondence with General Washington, Samuel and John Adams, and many other distinguished men and patriots, upon matters connected with the war. Those letters that have been preserved breathe the true spirit of liberty which sustained them through that momentous period, which resulted in making us a free and independent people.

November 3, 1777, Mr. Freeman married Mary Fowle, daughter of John Fowle of Watertown, at whose house Mr. Freeman boarded while in the provincial congress. Robert T. Paine, author of the song "Adams and Liberty," gave this toast at a public cele-

bration in Boston — "The Fair of this Town and the Fowle of Watertown." By her he had three children, Mary, Samuel D. and William. After the decease of his first wife, who died at the age of thirty, he married, February 17, 1786, Betty, the widow of Pearson Jones, and oldest daughter of Enoch Ilsley of Portland, with whom he lived in uninterrupted felicity for forty-four years, and by whom he had six children, one of whom, the youngest, Charlotte Boynton, is now living in Calistoga, California, at an advanced age. His second wife died in 1831, a few months after the death of her husband. "In his private and domestic life he was distinguished for uniform kindness and conscientiousness based upon religious principle, deeply ingrained by circumspection and habit."

In personal presence he was tall and erect, of good figure and a grave and benevolent countenance. It is said that his features bore a striking resemblance to those of Washington. One of his sons used to say that two or three times during the war he was followed in the streets of Boston by a crowd of boys, who mistook him for Washington.

He was an earnest and unselfish advocate through life of whatever had a tendency to educate the youth of his native town, and advance the intellectual growth of her people. He was among the first to be interested in a public library. The nucleus for one was started, it is believed, in 1760, which resulted in a society being organized in 1763, and in 1786 this society was reorganized, or a new one formed under the name of "Falmouth Library Society." It held meet-

ings at the dwelling-house of Samuel Freeman, a notice of which will be found in the Cumberland Gazette of that year. His interest and connection with it continued for many years.

PORTLAND ACADEMY,[1]

incorporated February, 1784, was one of the objects in which he took a deep and permanent interest. He was one of the committee of five chosen by the original petitioners, who applied to the general court to establish an academy in Portland. Mr. Willis says in his history of Portland that he was particularly active in getting the act of incorporation, and in 1797 the general court, to grant the trustees a half-township of land. This it did, provided a fund of three thousand dollars should be raised for the same object. The same authority says that "this amount, after considerable effort, in which Judge Freeman made unwearied exertions, was at length raised, and the half-township laid out." He was one of the trustees of the academy for over thirty years; was also secretary, and for many years kept the financial accounts of the institution, and did the active work under his associate trustees. He was connected with the institution from the time of its incorporation until November, 1826, when at the age of eighty-three, feeling the infirmities of age, his later accounts with the trustees, written in a trembling hand, difficult to be deciphered, he passed over, with a balance of six hundred and fifty-eight dollars of the academy's funds to William Preble, another of

[1] TRUSTEES OF PORTLAND ACADEMY, JUNE 3, 1809. — S. Freeman, E. Kellog, R. Southgate, W. Wedgery, W. Storer, Joseph H. Ingraham, George Bradbury, P. Mellen, S. Longfellow, Robert Boyd, Rev. Mr. Nichols, Horatio Southgate, Nicolas Emery, Levi Cutter.

Portland's honored townsmen, who took up the work where his predecessor had left it.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Mr. Freeman was no less interested in the success and prosperity of the town and private schools of Portland, and on all public occasions exerted his influence to promote and improve them. He was for many years a member of the school board, and its chairman, and was ever ready to vote the largest sum practicable for the use of the public schools, and we think history will show that Portland was in the early days second to no town in the district of Maine, or in fact in any part of Massachusetts in this respect.

As indicative of his interest and views in this direction, perhaps we cannot do better than read from a private letter written by him to his daughter, Dorcas Homes.

March 31, 1808. I am one of a committee of nine to consider what money shall be raised for the charges of the town the current year. . . . . We had an interesting meeting on Tuesday. . . . . It is proposed to raise only twelve hundred dollars for the support of schools. If the town should be of this mind, our schools will be broken up. Last year we raised forty-four hundred dollars. Friday, April 1, ten P.M. The committee have agreed upon a report, and a parsimonious one it is. Our good friend, Captain Titcomb, proposed to have only two masters at four hundred and fifty dollars each, and two mistresses at eighty dollars only, which, with an allowance for wood, amounted to only twelve hundred and forty dollars. It was finally agreed to raise two thousand dollars, and two thousand dollars only. But I can't think the town will be satisfied with it. The schools are all broken up now, and also the academy, and we find in one day the inconvenience of it. The town meeting

stands adjourned until Monday, when the sum will be determined. Monday, April 4. The friends of town schools were successful, obtaining a vote for raising three thousand dollars (instead of two thousand reported by the committee), whole town tax eighty-seven hundred and fifty dollars besides the state and county tax about twenty-seven hundred. . . . . The speakers in favor of schools were Frothingham, Hopkins, Longfellow and Wait.

His time, money, intellect and influence were in many ways devoted to the material, religious, moral and educational interest of his native town, county and state, and because they were, his fellow citizens ever reposed unlimited confidence in him, and heaped upon him all the offices, favors and positions of trust within their gift that he could possibly hold. For a lifetime he was the standing moderator of their town meetings, and was called upon to preside at most of the public meetings of the citizens. They made him selectman for twenty-five consecutive years with one exception, and chairman of the board most if not all the time. For many years he was a member of the school committee, chairman of the board at least a portion of the time. At the same time he held minor offices of the town such as in 1787, he, with Woodbury Storer were elected wardens. He was also on the fire ward and clerk of the market at the same time.

He was register of probate thirty-six years, judge of probate seventeen years, clerk of the court of general sessions forty-six years; clerk of the court of common pleas forty-five years, and from 1795 until the separation from Massachusetts in 1820, of the supreme judicial court with the exception of the

year 1811. He was that year removed by Governor Gerry to make room for a person of different politics. The next year he was restored by Governor Strong.

He was appointed first postmaster of Portland, October 5, 1775, which office he held twenty-nine years. Judge Charles W. Goddard in his list of Portland's Postmasters, published in 1875, says:—

> Deacon Freeman served through a number of dispensations, his official life of nearly twenty-nine years lasting through the remnant of King George the Third's nominal rule over the united colonies, through the continental régime, through the old confederacy, through the administrations of Washington and Adams and until near the close of Jefferson's first term, when he was removed, being unwilling to sacrifice his Federal principles for office.

He was justice of the peace for a long series of years, and was actively employed in the trial of civil and criminal causes, having the jurisdiction and performing the duties which now devolve upon our municipal courts, holding his court in different towns, which multiplied the responsibility and amount of business done. At one time he held his court for some weeks in the great kitchen of his dwelling-house, while his office was temporarily put to other uses. At these times a faithful old domestic, Molly Amee, was at hand with a mop, which she constantly used to remove the stains from the floor, caused by those who used tobacco too freely, and as she thought, improperly.

He was in a great measure instrumental in obtaining appropriations in money for the sufferers from the Mowat fire; and after repeated efforts, with the aid of

others, they succeeded in obtaining two townships of land of the general court. He was clerk of the proprietors of the sufferers townships. One of the committee of said proprietors to settle the same and to purchase lands for settlers. The papers show a vast amount of labor and writing done in the discharge of these duties, covering many years' service. He was the clerk, agent, and general manager for the proprietors of five eastern townships, most of the time from 1762 to the present century, and after the incorporations into towns of some of them. He was chairman of the committee for building the jail, associated with William Gorham and John Frothingham, committee for building the schoolhouse, secretary and one of the trustees of the academy.

It is stated in the Cumberland Gazette that he was chairman of the committee for building the court house in 1787, with Peter Noyes and Joseph McLellan. If he was, his own name is omitted in his appendix to Smith's Journal. He was parish committee and assessor and committee to sell lands in Standish; and as before mentioned, during the Revolution, he was prominent on most of the committees raised for the purpose of advising and directing the action of the town, county and people, and a member, and at the same time secretary of the provincial congress in the years 1775, 1776, and 1778, a member of the house of representatives and its clerk in 1775 to 1780, both inclusive. He was one of the presidential electors in 1808.

For a number of years he was one of the overseers

of Bowdoin College, and president of the board in 1816 to 1819 — three years; also treasurer and trustee of the college, and committee to sell townships granted to said college; one of the founders and president of the Maine bank from its organization in 1802 to the expiration of its charter; and the papers show that he discharged duties which at this time devolve upon other officers of a bank.

John T. Walton, late of this city, in speaking of Samuel Freeman in connection with the Maine bank, said that he remembered that after the bank closed, wound up its affairs and redeemed all bills presented, and long after the time of redemption had legally expired, an old lady living in a remote town in Vermont, had thirty dollars in five dollar bills of that bank, and did not hear that the bank had called in its bills until years after the time of redemption had run out; when she did learn she came to Mr. Freeman with the bills, and he told her she should lose nothing by the bank, and paid her out of his own pocket in new five dollar bills on, he thought, the Canal bank, and she returned to her distant home a happier woman.

Mr. Walton spoke of Mr. Freeman's kindness and friendship for boys, and said that they used to go to him for paper to make their kites; that he, Walton, formed a partnership with another boy to make kites, getting the paper of Mr. Freeman, making them, and his partner selling them; soon he found that the boy sold the kites and kept the money, so he dissolved the partnership.

Mr. Walton seemed much impressed with Mr. Free-

man's character for benevolence. Stated among other things that he well remembered when he was a boy his practice to give away turkeys, Thanksgiving day, to poor widows and other indigent persons.

He was chairman of a committee appointed by the town in 1798, which drafted a set of twenty-eight by-laws for the government of the town. The other members were Daniel Tucker, Woodbury Storer, William Symmes, and Salmon Chase. Mr. Freeman was appointed by the town to present them at the court of sessions, and they were approved by the court.

As chairman of the selectmen, January 1, 1807, he prepared an address to the heads of families in the town of Portland, which was printed and distributed. This address, full of elevating thoughts and sentiments, kind and good advice, did honor to the hearts of those who promulgated it. The same production, word for word, would not be inappropriate, or out of place, if published for the same object at the present day.

In 1797 Mr. Freeman held at least twenty responsible offices and positions of trust at one time, most of them for many years, and subsequently others, besides attending to much private business of his own.

Mr. Willis, in his Courts and Lawyers of Maine, in this connection, says: —

> Whoever held so many and such a variety of offices at one time, before? Yet we are assured, and partly know from our own observation, that no duty in any of them escaped his attention or was neglected. He was the most industrious of men, and the most exact and faithful. Long experience had given him great versatility and facility; and a firm constitution, regular

habits, and persevering labor enabled him to discharge all his responsible and arduous duties with fidelity and correctness. And at this time he employed himself in preparing works for publication which his offices showed him to be needed, and which proved to be exceedingly useful to the profession and others. These were the Town Officer, Clerk's Assistant, Probate Manual and Justice's Assistant. At that time there were no books of forms suited to the wants of our community, and these works, skillfully prepared by Mr. Freeman, and adapted to the various business of the day, had a very extensive circulation, and passed through several editions. His last work, undertaken when he was near eighty years old, was the editing the journal of his venerable pastor, the Reverend Thomas Smith, who was his minister fifty years, whose deacon he was fourteen years and his devoted friend. The journal passed through a period of sixty-eight years, was written in a small hand, often with abbreviations, the study of which, and the copying and preparation of accompanying statistics would have been a severe task for a young man, yet was well and ably accomplished, and published in a duodecimo volume in 1821. To show the facility he had acquired in the execution of his varied tasks, I have been told that in his probate duties and clerk duties he would add up a long column of figures with accuracy, almost as rapidly as he could run his eye over it; and he would pass from one kind of business to another without pause and without any relaxation of his mind, as if pursuing the same current of mental operation.

Again he says: —

In all his other duties and labors he never forgot the claims of charity; he was a leader in all the benevolent institutions as well as of education, in the town, as long as he was able to attend their meetings, or aid their efforts. And he did not go with his hand and heart shut, but open as melting charity. He was not content to give his services only, but his money followed in the same direction. Take him for all in all, Portland never had a better citizen, and it might be said, "We shall never see his like again."

A particular description of his legal works is found in the following copy of a paper in his handwriting, given us by your secretary, H. W. Bryant, viz. : —

Four Books, compiled by Samuel Freeman, Esq., in 1796. Register of Probate for Cumberland County. Published by Thomas & Andrews, Faust's Statue, No. 45 Newbury street, Boston. The Justice's Assistant, or Massachusetts Justice, being a collection of the Laws of Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to the power and duty of Justice of Peace, both in their separate capacity, and as forming the Court of Sessions. To which are added a variety of forms grounded on said Laws, with useful Tables. The whole intended for the use of those who practice in the office of a Justice, to assist them in the various thereto duties belonging. Price $1.75.

A valuable Assistant to every Man, or the American Clerk's Magazine, Containing the most necessary forms of Writings, which commonly occur between man and man, under the nature of Acquittances, Covenants, Letters of Attorney, Agreements, Deeds, Mortgages, Awards, Indentures, Wills, etc., etc., Bonds, Leases, and other Instruments. The whole of which are calculated for the use of the citizens of the United States and conformable to law. Price $1.00.

The Town Officer, or the Power and Duty of all towns and parish Offices, with forms for their use, agreeable to law. Also Methods for keeping Town Accounts and many other useful matters. Price 75 cts.

The Probate Directory, or an Assistant to Probate Courts, Executors, Administrators and Guardians, with all the Laws relative to the Estates of Testators, Intestates and Wards, and the necessary forms relative thereto. Price 63 cts.

In addition to the foregoing he published in 1805 a small book, entitled "General Directions to Executors and Administrators."

There were many private enterprises of public benefit in which he was engaged. He was one of the directors of the Turnpike Association. He, with a few of his townsmen, in 1799 organized a company, and built rather an extensive aqueduct for those days, and it is thought it was the first ever made in the district of Maine; and he alone built another in about 1821. He was one of the proprietors of Back Cove bridge, interested in a paper mill and sawmill at Saccarappa, in the observatory and in the Falmouth Land Company, the proprietors of which at one time owned a large portion of the territory covered by the present city.

The registry of deeds in Cumberland, Washington, and other counties, will show in part the extent of his transactions in real estate as agent for others. In the land office at Augusta there is a book of records containing one hundred and sixty-four deeds written in his office and all dated the same day, June 2, 1794, and signed by him as agent for the proprietors and by the committee of the commonwealth of Massachusetts for the state.

As a conveyancer he was very accurate and exact. My attention has been called to one deed which gives the lineal descent of one family, viz.: — Francis Small, from 1666 to 1794, giving the names, places of residence and occupation of each descendant down to Elisha Small in 1794, which was the date of the deed.

We think we are justified in saying that there can be no full or accurate account prior to 1800, of the early history of the towns of Addison, Harrington, Milbridge, Steuben, Cherryfield and Trenton, which anciently included Lamoine, part of Ellsworth and Hancock, also the towns of New Portland and Freeman, without the aid of records, documents, letters and papers left by this wonderfully busy man. From the very nature of the transactions and the part he had in them, it is evident all the facts cannot be obtained unless taken from his minutes and papers.

While blessed with a remarkably retentive memory, he, as has been seen, was methodical, careful and exact in all that he did. Doing business constantly for others, he kept a record or memorandum of his stewardship.

In the thousands of settlements he made with the early settlers for the proprietors of the many townships for which he was agent, or manager, secretary, treasurer, and sometimes he filled them all, he kept not only all the bonds and papers relating to each individual settler, but the little scraps of paper upon which every item of interest was figured from time to time were carefully enclosed with the other papers relating to the case and filed away, and they were in his handwriting, done by him without the aid of clerical force.

POLITICAL SENTIMENTS.

Although a firm, he was a temperate Federalist in his political sentiments. Such was the popularity and influence of his name that he was usually made mod-

erator of all public meetings, and when a candidate for office was supported by both parties. In a letter to his daughter, Mrs. Homes, dated March 28, 1808, he writes : —

> This day we had the largest and fullest town meeting that we ever had. To-day's Gazette will inform you of the result. For the Federal ticket for selectman there were about four hundred seven votes; Democratic, two hundred thirty-six. I was on both tickets, and had six hundred forty-one.

His principles were coeval with "the times that tried men's souls." They continued steadfast and immovable, always abounding in the work of freedom through all the struggles which were made for liberty and right. As they were in the beginning they remained true to the end. When the noble efforts of our fathers were crowned with success they received "a name and praise" in the adoption of our national constitution and the formation of our glorious Union.

TEMPERANCE.

He was among the earliest advocates of the cause of temperance in the state. His name stands first on the list of the famous '69 Society. The society for the suppression of vice and immorality was chiefly formed, we believe, for the suppression of intemperance. It is said that the only time he failed of an election when his name was used was in 1790, when his action for the promotion of temperance gave offense to some who were engaged in the liquor traffic, and without knowing their intentions he was defeated; but the next year his friends rallied, and he was reëlected,

and held the office from that time until 1812, when he ceased to be a candidate It is true he kept liquor in his house for the dignitaries and others who frequented it, as was the custom in those days; but did not himself drink. About two years before his death, and feeble in health, he apologized to his granddaughter, Mrs. Hale, then a little child, for drinking in her presence, saying that Doctor Ray told him he must take it. He told the doctor that he did not use intoxicating drinks, and that it was too late for him to begin then. The doctor replied that he must take it as Saint Paul did, for his stomach's sake.

We have reason to believe that the great secret of his popularity and influence, and the respect and love shown him by his fellow citizens in the early times, was awakened and cherished by the unselfish action and genuine interest which he always took in all that affected his town and people. Willis, in his History of Portland, gives the key to those traits of character which endeared him to the inhabitants of Portland, and for which he deserves to be most honored, when he writes as follows:—

> His active and benevolent mind sought relief from the toils of official duty in the humble walks of beneficence, and we find him originating and aiding by his money, his example and his personal efforts, all the institutions whose tendency was to elevate the tone of society, and improve the manners and morals of the people, and he further adds in the Appendix to Smith and Dean's Journal, this:—It is not claiming too much for him to say that during the half-century of his active life there were very few good undertakings of a public, benevolent, patriotic, or Christian enterprise in the town which he did not originate, or

which were not largely indebted to him for substantial aid, if not for ultimate success. For these he is entitled to be recorded among the benefactors of the community and his name ever to be held in remembrance.

Samuel Freeman was one of the founders of the time honored and blessing crowned "Portland Benevolent Society,[1]" and among the number whom Providence enabled to complete their anuual subscription of fifty dollars for ten years.

The original petition, now in the archives of Massachusetts, is in his handwriting, as is also six of the seven sections of the bill which was enacted February 15, 1803, incorporating this charity. The petition was presented to the general court, January, 1803. The language of that petition shows the philanthropic intention, and does honor to the hearts of the forty-two noble men who signed it.

William Willis, in a notice of an address by George W. Pierce, to be delivered before the society in 1831, but which we have not seen, said: —

> The venerable Samuel Freeman, who was one of the founders of the society, and one of its largest donors, on retiring from the management, observed: "I have for more than twenty-three years, in common with the other managers, executed the trust reposed in them by the society, the beneficial effects of which, as contemplated in its original establishment, I hope will become perpetuated. To this end I beg leave to recommend that some unfailing measures may be adopted to increase it by obtaining three or four additional members annually."

The organization of this society has been kept up to the present day, and with increased membership and

[1] PORTLAND BENEVOLENT SOCIETY IN 1818.—1. Freeman, President, 2. Kelley, V. P., 3. Longfellow, Secretary, 4. M. Cobb, 5. Ingraham, 6. Boyd, 7. Taylor, 8. Nichols, 9 How, 10. Southgate, 11. I. Isley——Treasurer.

means is carrying out the beneficent work so auspiciously begun nearly a century ago, the good effects of which are silently felt and diffused through a larger community, and as the years glide on bids fair to become perpetuated.

In the original draft of an address to the benevolent young men of Portland, he commenced his friendly appeal in these words: —

> There is not, perhaps, a town in the state where beneficence is exhibited more readily and more frequently than in this.

He affectionately called their attention to the principal charitable, religious and educational societies established in Portland, as well as other places, and earnestly persuaded them to encourage these societies by their influence and aid. He then says: —

> But you may now inquire why I address you on these subjects. My friends, the patrons of these institutions, stand in need of active persons to aid them in these laudable designs. Many who are well disposed, either for want of sufficient zeal or leisure, decline the service which is necessary to prosper the undertaking. Indeed, there are but few who will take an active part, and here I am impelled to express my grief for the recent loss of a worthy young man, whose disposition to promote these beneficial objects was conspicuous and encouraging, and whose services would have been highly valuable if it had not been the mysterious will of Providence to remove him by the slow and immutable hand of death.

The individual was probably E. Cobb, the promising son of the late Matthew Cobb. He was a particular friend of the Reverend Mr. Payson and a member of his church.

Mr. Freeman was also interested in many other

charitable, moral and Christian societies. We have sought in vain to find a town with no greater population that had more, or as many, active charitable societies, or where a stronger religious feeling predominated than Portland in ancient times, or where so large a proportion of the best and leading citizens were then active members and supporters.

John Neal in the first volume of the "Yankee," edited by him, says, that on looking at Freeman's extracts, he is astonished to find that in this small town there are about thirty charitable associations, and does not reckon the public library and athenæum, and they did not include religious societies.

In addition to the charitable associations already mentioned, we add others in which he took an active part, and was either president, trustee, secretary, corresponding secretary or general manager of them all.

"Eastern society for promoting the knowledge of the sacred Scriptures and establishing Christian order, instruction and piety in the district of Maine." [1]

Bible Society.[2]

Maine Education Society.

Eastern Branch of Massachusetts Evangelical Society.

Portland Foreign Missionary Society.[3]

[1] OFFICERS OF THE EASTERN SOCIETY IN 1811.—Hon. Samuel Freeman, President; Reverend Hezekiah Packard, Vice-president; John Abbott, Esquire, Treasurer; Reverend William Jenks, Secretary. Other Trustees:—Alden Bradford, Esquire, Reverend Ichabod Nichols, Matthew Cobb, Esquire, Nathaniel C. Allen, Esquire, Reverend Freeman Parker, Nathan Reed, Esquire, Jeremiah Bailey, Esquire, Charles Coffin, Esquire, Robert D. Dunning, Esquire.

[2] MANAGERS OF THE PORTLAND BIBLE SOCIETY, JUNE 3, 1809.—Samuel Freeman, President; E. Kellogg, Vice-president; S. Longfellow, Secretary; Matthew Cobb, Horatio Southgate, Captain Ingraham, Robert Boyd, Edward Payson, Reverend Mr. Nichols, Daniel How, William Swan.

[3] PORTLAND FOREIGN MISSION SOCIETY.—Samuel Freeman, President; Reverend Ichabod Nichols, Vice-president; Reverend Edward Payson, Corresponding Secretary; Woodbury Storer, Recording Secretary; Levi Cutter, Treasurer; John Coe, Auditor; Matthew Cobb, Horatio Southgate, Esquire, Joseph Titcomb, Esquire, Advising and Assisting Members.

Tract Society.

Peace Society.[1]

First Parish Charity Fund Society.

Society for the Suppression of Vice and Immorality.

'69 Society — believed to be a temperance organization.

Central Sabbath Committee.

Portland Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews.[2]

In all these he held responsible offices as well as in the others which have been named, and did much work. With the exception of one or two, we think he was among the original founders of them all. He prepared a kind of almanac, showing for the whole year their various times of meeting, and the individuals belonging to them, which for convenient reference he always carried about his person.

One of the objects of the Eastern Society, as expressed in their Rules for the Distribution of Premiums, was that the Eastern Society "propose to reward with a Bible or Testament those in our schools and academies who pay the most attention to the Holy Scriptures, as ascertained by weekly inquiries, for the

[1] OFFICERS OF THE PEACE SOCIETY, 1818. — Honorable William Phillips, President; Honorable Thomas Dawes, Vice-president; Deacon Elisha Ticknor, Treasurer; Mr. Thomas Walcut, Recording Secretary; Reverend Noah Worcester, Corresponding Secretary; Reverend John Foster, D.D., Reverend Abial Holmes D.D., Professor L. Hedge, Reverend Daniel Sharp, John Henrick, Esquire, William Wells, Esquire, Trustees; Reverend John Foster, D.D., Reverend Jonathan Homer, Reverend Henry Ware, D.D., Reverend Joseph McKeen, LL.D., Reverend William E. Channing, Counselors of Corporation.

PEACE SOCIETY, DISTRICT OF MAINE.—Doctor Appleton, President; Matthew Cobb, Vice-president; S. Longfellow, Esquire, Treasurer; Edward H. Cobb, Recording Secretary; Samuel Freeman, Corresponding Secretary. Other Trustees: Edward Payson, I. Nichols, Prentiss Mellen, Simon Greenleaf.

[2] MANAGERS OF PORTLAND SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE JEWS, 1826. — Samuel Freeman, Reverend Mr. Kellog, Doctor Payson, Reverend Mr. Taylor, Reverend Mr. Ripley, Reverend Mr. Tenbrook, Reverend Samuel Rand, Honorable S. Fessenden, Simon Greenleaf, Esquire, Levi Cutter, Esquire, Joseph Adams, Esquire, Woodbury Storer, Esquire, Mr. Benjamin Isley.

term of one quarter, and whose behavior and diligence in other respects are becoming and exemplary." While Mr. Freeman was president and one of the trustees of this society, many Bibles were distributed to scholars in various towns in the district of Maine. The certificates from teachers, giving the names of the pupils entitled to premiums, show that many children in those days were blessed with remarkably retentive memories, and possessed habits of application. We select from many received by Mr. Freeman one from Simon Greenleaf, then a teacher in Gray, and who afterward became the distinguished jurist.

This certifies that Miss Harriet Hayden, of Gray, aged fourteen years, has repeated to me, at ten recitations, twelve hundred and eighteen verses from the holy Bible, and eight hundred and six verses of Doctor Watt's psalms and hymns, in the whole, two thousand and twenty-four verses; and that Miss Esther Colley of Gray, aged fourteen years, has repeated to me, at nine recitations, four hundred and thirty-four verses from the holy Bible, and four hundred and ninety-one verses from Doctor Watt's psalms and hymns, in the whole nine hundred and twenty-five verses, and that I have presented to each of them a Bible from the Eastern Society.

GRAY, August 17, 1807.

HON. JUDGE FREEMAN, SIMON GREENLEAF.

In accepting the office of president of the Eastern Branch of the Massachusetts Evangelical Society, he closed his address in these words: —

Although there is a difference of opinion among men in regard to some things which are contained in the sacred volume, and which are beyond the stretch of human wisdom to comprehend, it is joyous to all who possess the spirit of Christianity to behold its friends engaging one after another to spread the same among

the inattentive and uninformed, or in the words of our constitution, "to furnish the destitute inhabitants of our own country, and especially the district of Maine, the means of religious instruction and moral improvement;" and it is to me a gratifying consideration that this society has made it one important part of their duty, to give aid in the instruction and superintendence of schools, for, unless these are well supported, the rising generation may be in danger of becoming enemies instead of friends of that religion which inculcates the principles which tend to advance the interests and happiness of all.

That the blessing of God will attend the laudable designs of these societies, we have strong grounds to hope. In this hope and for the good of all mankind, let it be our earnest wish and prayer that such societies may be multiplied throughout the world, until there shall be a universal knowledge and reception of Him whom we should honor as the Son of God, the Savior oft men, the Alpha and Omega, the same yesterday, to-day and forever.

RELIGIOUS SENTIMENTS.

In his religious sentiments, Samuel Freeman was no bigot. He could not be otherwise than liberal in his religious views. In his intercourse with men and love for the gospel, he had no "respect of persons," or creeds or denominations, except to prefer those who were characterized by religious faith and works, and it is believed that he never attempted by any undue influence to control the belief of others even in his household, so as to conform to his own. His religion was circumscribed by no narrow creed. It was broad as the gospel, neither falling short of, or over-running its divine limits. It was made up of love to God and love to man. He was liberal and charitable in all his feelings, and in all his words especially relating to

religious subjects and men. His faith was seen in his works, and it might be justly said of him—His can't be wrong, whose life is in the right.

It is true that Samuel Freeman was attached to the first, the old parish. He was born and grew up with it. For upwards of half a century he was a leading member of its church and society, and one of its deacons for many years. His church and parish from no other circumstances, considered him the fittest person to lay the corner stone of that beautiful stone edifice which now adorns the spot where its venerated ancestor, one of the spared monuments which escaped the destruction of Falmouth by Mowat formerly stood. It would have been as hard for him to leave these objects of his affection as "for a mother to forget her suckling child." He bore a part in all their trials and in all their triumphs, in their adversity and their prosperity, nor ceased to love and serve them until death released him from the obligation and attachment which through a long and eventful life he had faithfully preserved and fulfilled.

We have called up before you only one of that band of patriots and noble men, his compeers, friends and associates, intimate in their relations with each other, working together harmoniously, earnestly and effectually for the good of their town and country, each member gathering courage, knowledge and inspiration from the other; passing through the scourge of fire which almost annihilated old Falmouth, through the throes of two destructive and bitter wars which almost overwhelmed its inhabitants with toils, poverty and

distress. They came through it all with their integrity unbroken, their character unsullied, and laid the foundations of those institutions, and that prosperity which has made this city to-day the pride of the East.

In closing permit me to quote from a writing of one of his sons, who, in speaking in 1860 of his father's connection with and attachment for the old city hall, feelingly wrote : —

It was in this hall that his last public act was performed, in casting, at a presidential election, his vote into the ballot box, over which he had presided for so many years, when Portland was in name an unpretending town, but memorable for its history and distinguished for its local attractions and its many noble enterprises. It was out of this hall that he had traversed from childhood, and for upward of eighty years its broad streets, witnessing and aiding its growth and prosperity. The same sun that now shines upon its magnificent improvements, then shed his beams upon its more humble enterprises. The same ocean now rolls its waves upon its shores. The same sky now overarches its busy throngs and places of resort. The same moon and stars irradiate its night scenes, and the same atmosphere spreads its benign influence over its habitations and thoroughfares. The same hills stand proudly at its sides, and the same beautiful and unrivaled prospects are seen from its heights. Nature has still preserved the same local charms and privileges for its adornment and use, but where, oh where, are the inhabitants who crowded its streets, mingled in its labors, and occupied its dwellings forty years ago? Few remain to speak of the past, or share in its present employments and concerns. In the language of Ossian we may exclaim, " Where are our fathers, the chiefs of the times of old? They have set like stars that have shone, — we only hear the sound of their praise."

THE MILITARY JOURNAL OF COLONEL ICHABOD GOODWIN.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY WILLIAM A. GOODWIN.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 4, 1893.

THE copy herewith of my grandfather's manuscript of regimental orders, was made by me, *verbatim et literatim*, from the original given me by my father, Dr. James Scamman Goodwin, several years before his death in 1884, in his ninety-first year, he having been born in Berwick, now South Berwick, in 1793, graduated at Dartmouth in 1811, and as M.D. at that medical school in 1814. His father, Ichabod, was born in Berwick in 1713, the son of Ichabod, a captain of provincial troops under Abercrombie, who was also born in Berwick, date uncertain, but was married in 1700 to Elizabeth Scamman, as per family Bible now in possession of my brother George.

Grandfather, as you will see by the manuscript, had but limited education in spelling, etc., though he wrote a clear, legible hand, and was one of the founders and promoters of Berwick Academy, and sent two sons to Dartmouth, both fitted at that academy. He had been a member of the provincial congress convened at Watertown in 1775, and was for many years sheriff of York County, and major-general of the militia as early as 1787, under Governor Bowdoin; was a surveyor, and noted in solution of problems therewith connected.

When my father gave me the manuscript he told me that he had seen it among his father's papers from his early boyhood.

It is on two-leaved sheets of thick cap, $8\frac{3}{16}$ x $13\frac{3}{16}$ inches, having on the obverse the conventional Britannia in water mark with the sceptre and shield within an oval of three heavy lines surmounted by the crown, the whole height being five and one half inches, and on the reverse the capitals L V G in water-mark, five-eighths of an inch long. The paper has vertical water lines one inch apart all over, and fine horizontal lines close together. The same paper and writing occur again in the manuscript which you kindly procured for me, entitled, "Return of the Sixth Division of Militia Composed of the Counties of York and Cumberland," dated "Berwick, January 8, 1787," addressed to Governor Bowdoin and signed "Ichabod Goodwin, M. Gen'l."

In 1884, I gave the manuscript of orders to my son, James S. Goodwin, then of New York city, who had been elected to the New York Society of Sons of the Revolution. My poor boy was instantly killed on the railroad track near his home in the year 1890, leaving no clue to any depositary of his valuables.

General history gives but little, if any, record of the disposal of Burgoyne's captured army. This manuscript shows only that it was quartered at Winter Hill and Prospect Hill, both of which are now in Somerville; defines the limits of the encampment, and gives many names of officers of guards, as well as of prisoners. A volume edited by James P. Baxter of this city,

and published by Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, 1887, on the campaigns of Generals Carleton and Burgoyne, together with the journal of Lieutenant William Digby of the 53d Regiment (British) gives much interesting and valuable information on the capture and disposal in part, of that army, and is explanatory of some clauses of the manuscript.

The term convention, for example, as in "prisoners of the convention," found in the manuscript, we learn from Mr. Baxter, is the word demanded by Burgoyne instead of capitulation. We may well believe that Gates, in his elation at a victory so signal, did not care what the prisoners called themselves. We learn from the manuscript, and perhaps from nowhere in history, that a part of the prisoners were quartered in Rutland (Massachusetts). A letter to the clerk of that town brings a most interesting response corroborating that fact. Referring to the shooting of Lieutenant Brown (British), mentioned in the manuscript, my father told me, quoting his father, that Brown came within the lines one night from Boston with two women of the town in a chaise, and refusing to heed the challenge of a sentinel, was shot dead by him. The other regiment of immediate guards at the date of the manuscript, my father has told me, was from Essex county, Massachusetts. York, Cumberland, and Essex county names are frequent among the officers. The names of persons furnished would have been designated by initials only, but further reading shows that each bore many aliases, and no real name suffers.

The term French, as in "French lines," probably

refers to Hessians, no French troops having been present.

I have had to say this word to you under constant interruptions. It and the manuscript are heartily at your service.

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM A. GOODWIN.

Regemental Orders. April 15, 1778

Commission Officers for Guards to morrow

Capt Dodge, Lieut Hubbard } Main Guard
Lieut Shapleigh french Lines

Head Quarters April 15

Parole Lookout Countersign Sharp

Capt Lyman being Called to Joyn his Regement The General Excuses him from Acting Long[er][1] as Town major and thanks him for his good services. Major Andrew Brown is desired to Act as town Major at Cambridge and is to be Obeay[ed] and respected as Such. ———————

Lieut Colo Jones will please to send in[to] Boston this afternoon such men as have had th[e] Small pox Except such as may be Necessary to be detained for ye purpose of drawing provission

———————

Field officer for the day to Morrow

Lieut Collo Goodwin ———

Commissioned Officers for Guards to morrow

Capt. Dodge, Lieut Mitchell } Main Guard
Lieut Ober french Lines

Head Quarters Boston April 16th 1778

Parole Suffolk C. Sign Boston

the detachment of Such as have had the Small pox directed by the Order of the 10 Instant to be sent from the Regements of

[1] The manuscript is worn in some places, and most of the omissions are supplied.

Guards at Cambridge to this town is to be compleated this After noon of which the commanding officers of those corps will please to take due Notice

The General does once more in the most Express and positive terms forbid the recruiting officers inlisting any prisoners or deserters from the Enemy as they will be answerable or accountable for all damage that may Accrue to the publick in Consequence of such Inlistments and also for Breach of Orders ———

A list of the Carpenders and Joyners in the Several Corps doing duty in this town, Cambridge Roxbury, Dorchester is to be sent to Head Quarters to morrow; the Several Commanding officers are desired to be Very — punctual in their lists and not Omit any — Commission officers for Guards tomorrow

Detail { Capt Waterhouse, Lieut Woodbury } M Guards
{ Lieut Porter for french lines

[Forts at Winter hill.						French Lines.						Prospect Hill.							Parole Suffolk C Sign Boston.		
Corporals.	Drums.	fife.	Privats.	Centeries by day.	Centeries by Nigh.	Subaltern.	Serjants.	Corporals.	Drum.	fife.	Privates.	Centeries by day.	Centeries by Night.	Captain.	Subaltern.	Serjants.	Corporals.	Drums.	fifes.	Privates.	Centeries by day.	Centeries by Night.	Prisoners Names	Regt. Belong to	Crimes for abuse for theft
							2	2	1	1	32	9	10	1	2	2	2	1	1	50	17	17	H. R. A. B.	63 21	

[ ] Guards and found them in good order and Centeries alert

Ichabod Goodwin Lt Colo

Head Quarters April 17 — Boston 1778

Parole Malden C. Sign Lynn

Field Officer for the day tomorrow

Majr Brown

Commission officers for Guard to morrow

{ Capt Brown, Lieut Skinner } Main Guard
{ Lieut Collins french lines

Details as Yersterday

Head Quarters Boston April 18th 1778
Parole Canada Countersign Quebec

The Carpenders and joyners Belonging to Colo Reeds and Colo Gerrishs Regements are to parade this afternoon at 3 oClock Near the town majors 2rs on cambridge Common where ten of their Number are to be detached and sent to Rutland in Order to prepare the Barracks for the reception of the Guard and troops of the convention. the Carpenters will be Allowed forty five Shillings pr month in Addition to their pay and Dayley Allowance of Rum ———————

The Commanding officer of respective Corps will please to be punctual in making their weekly Retur[ns] in Season ———————

The detachment of Carpenders are to marc[h] for Rutland on Monday Next. that the officers of th[e] Regements of Guards may know the Extent of the lim[its] Assigned to the officers of the Convention — they are as [follows], Swans Shop at Charlestown Neck, the Cambridge R[oad] up to the Cross way between Mr Codmans Hous[e and] Fort No 3, the said Crossiway out to the Road by Mr [ ] House taking in the Hospital Barracks from t[hence] a Straight line to Cambridge Bridge from t[hence] the North Brink of Charles River to Watertow[n] Watertown Bridge, from thence the Boston Road as far as the Crotch of the Way at Angers Corner, from Watertown Bridge up the Road to the North west Corner of Mr Remmingtons House, and from Learneds Tavern the Cambridge Road on to the Common to the Manotomy Road & up said Road to Coopers Tavern taking in Manotomy Pond but not to pass the Beach on the South west Or North Side thereof, from Coopers Tavern down to the East end of Benjamim Tuffts House in Medford, and from Medford Bridge the Boston Road to Swans Shop the first mentioned Bounds: the intermediate Roads are within the Parole and the Back Yards of the Respective Quarters to the distance of Eighty Yards from them — If any officer or soldier belonging to the troops of the convention should be found without the before mentioned Limits Either in the Roads or fields without writen permission from the General or by his Express Order they are to be taken up and Confined if a Commission officer to their Quar-

ters if an non commission officer or Soldier in the Main Guard and Report thereof made to the General — all officers are desired to take due Notice of this Order, and see that it be strickly Executed Officer of the day to Morrow the Eldest Captain in Col° Gerrishes Regement

Head Quarters Boston April 19th 1778
Parole Gates C. sign Victory
Field officer of the day to Morrow —
Commission Officers for Guards to morrow
Capt Waterhouse } Main Guard
Lt Haley }
Lieut Callis, French Lines

Head Quarters, April 20th 1778
Parole Honour — Counter Sign Dissipline
Regemental Orders
Officers for Guards to morrow
Capt Huse } M. Guards
Lieut Peabody }
Lieut Nason french lines

Head Quarters April 21th 1778
Parole Dublin C: sign Ireland
Commission officers for Guards
Lieut Simith Main Guard
Lieut Hubbard french Lines

Head Quarters April 22the 1778
Parole France — C. sign Spain
Regemental Orders
Field Officer for the day to morrow Lt Col° of Col° Reeds Regt —
Commission officers for Guards to morrow
Capt Bodwell } M. Guards
Lieut Shapleigh }
Lieut Merril French Lines

Head Quarters April 22th 1778

After Orders. the Publick Service calling Majr Brown from Cambridge the General thanks him for his Good Service as town Major. Adjutant Rice of Colo Symms Detachment is Appointed Town Major at Cambridge he is to be Obeayed and Respected accordingly ————————

Field officer of the day to morrow Lieut Colo Billings

Head Quarters Boston April 23th 1778

Parole Washington C. sign Gates —

Field Officer for the day tomorrow

Lieut Colo Goodwin —

Regemental Orders:

A Subbaltern officer to be appointed for the future to Visit the Several messes in the Regement and se that their provision are Cooked in a Neat and Clenly Manner, that the Mess Mates of those who are on duty are to carry their provisions to the Guard House as no Soldier will for the future be permitted to leave the Guard unless on some Special Occasion ————————

This duty is to be done by the Subbalterns In Rotation ————

Those on Guard are Strickly forbidden buying Any spirituous Liquors of the troops of General Burgoyns Army, as those who are found in the Breach of this Order will be punished with the utmost Severrity

After Orders April 23th 1778 from Head Q[uarters.] The season of the year having now Arive,d w[hen] the Inhabitants will be desirous to fence & Im[prove] their lands, and such of them as have Remove[d] their fences which were most Exposed to be des[troyed] in the course of the winter, are now about to Erect them. The Gen[l] calls Upon the officers of [all] Ranks to Exert themselves to prevent any Abuse or Damage being done to them and as some of the fen[ces] will be sett up Very Near the Barracks, If it should be Necessary Sentryes are to be so posted as to preven[t] there being Injured. The Soldiers are also forbid Needlessly Crossing fields & lotts, and are as much as possible to keep the Roads In going to and from their Quarters as it is the

duty and much for the Honour of the Troops to preserve and Defend not to destroy the property of y^e^ Inhabitants y^e^ Genera[l] Flatters himself that those Troops who Engaged i[n] the best of Causes will by their Good Behavour Ever meritt A Conspicuous Character for Regular and Good Order ———————

Head Quarters Boston April 24^th^ 1778

Parole Lexington C: Sign Concord

Lieu^t^ Col^o^ Jones of Col^o^ Sternes Reg^t^ is to marc[h] Early to morrow Morning with Cap^t^ Washburns Comp[any] to Dorchester Heights and release the Troops no[w] doing duty at that post: the Commanding offi[cers] now there will

[Foot of page cut off, probably by the writer, who wished to express himself as on the following page.]

All the Officers posted at Dorchester Belonging to Capt. Belchers, Wards, Smiths, and Whittins Company^s^ And all the men belonging to those companys who have had the small Pox are to return their Barracks and Cooking Utentials and Amunition drawn from the publick Stores early to morrow Morning after which as soon as the detachment Ordered from Col^o^ Stearns Reg^t^ Arives at that Post y^e^ before mentioned officers & men are discharged from further duty, with the Generals thanks for their service ; y^e^ officers and men Belonging to those companys who are now doing duty in Boston on account of their having had the small pox are not Discharged and those who have had that disemper and have remained at Dorchester for the purpose of coming to Town to draw provisions are to come into Boston and do duty under Cap^t^ Belcher untill further Orders

The General has the Strongest Assurance from Major Gen Phillips who has Ordered Search to be made thro. the Barracks at Prospect Hill, that the Small pox is not there so that all fears on that Acc^t^ are Groundless —

Field officer for y^e^ day to Morrow, Maj^r^ Brown

Commission officers for Guards to morrow

Lieu^t^ from B. Hill, Lieu^t^ Ober } M. Guard

Lieut Woodbury for French Lines

Details as Usual ———————

Head Quarters April 25th 1778

Parole Germany C. Sign Portugal

Field Officer of the Day to morrow Majr Gage

Commission officers for Guards to morrow

Capt Dodge
Lieut Millican } M. Gd
Lieut Watts French lines

Head Quarters Boston April 26th 1778

Parole Bellona C. Sign War

Officer for the day to morrow Capt Dodg[e]

Commission officer for Guards to morrow

Capt
Lieut Watts } M. Gd
Lieut Haley for french lines

The large Quantity of provisions Arivd ye Victuallars is to be unloaded and stored immediately the Deputy Commis[sary] General and assistants will call upon the officers Commanding corps at Boston, Cambridge and Watertow[n] for such number of Fateague men as may be dailey Necessary for the dispatch of Business and upon Such Application the officers will please to furnish su[ch] Fatigue men without the least delay; sending pro[per] officers with them in propotion to their Numbe[r] to direct and keep them Steady to their Business —

Head Quarters Boston April 27th 1778

Parole Watertown, C Sign Cambridge

Officer for the day tomorrow Capt Homes

Officers for Guards to morrow

Capt
Lt Challis } main Guard
Lt Skinner for french lines

Head Quarters Boston April 28th 1778

Parole Connecticutt C Sign Hartford

The officer commanding the guards at Cambridge will Order the Sentries posted there to give immediate Notice of the aproach

of any Lighter or mast Boat employed in the publick Service bound Either up or down the River, upon which notice the officer will immediately cause the Bridge to be raised and as soon as Such Lighter or Boat has passed to let it down carefully and Bolt it Strict attention is to be paid to this Order, the Town Major will send a coppy thereof to the officer of the Guard, which is to be delivered over dailey to the relieving Officer ——

Head Quarters Boston April 29th 1778

Parole Sterling. C. S. Green ————

Complaint having been made on yersterday that some of the provissions Issued to the Regt of Guards at Cambridge were not fit for Use; in future when any provissions shall be offered to any Qr Master or other officer who may apply to draw for any Corps, if the provision offered to him Shall appear to be really bad he is not to take them but apply to the committee of surveay, who are immediately to repair to the comissarys Store and give their opinion of the fitness or unfitness of such provisn being Issued; which is to determine the matter—The committee are desired to Endeavour to do Strict Justice both to the publick and Soldiary and when any provissions are condemned they Are to make a writen report thereof to the General. Specifying the Quantity and Quallity: the committee will surveay such as were delivered yesterday but in future when ever any Quartermaster Shall receive and take the provision from the store he is not to expect to return them — Capt Hastings, the Town Major Rice & Capt Homes of Colo Reeds Regement are appointed to this duty — The Field officers of the Regt of Gu[ards] being all present the Captains are excused from ac[ting] as officers of the day ————

Field Officer for ye day to Morrow —

Colo Reed —

Commission officers for Guards tomor[row]

{ Capt / Lieut Hubbard } Main Guard {

{ Lieut Smith for French lines —

Officers for Picknet

{ Capt Prible
{ Lieut Peabody }

Lieut Watts to Visit the Messes

Head Quarters Boston April 30th 1778

Parole Counter Sign

Field Officer for the day to Morrow Colo Ger[rish]

Commission officer for Guards to mor[row]

{ Capt Prible
{ Lieut Merrill } M. Gd
{ Lieut Shapleigh for french lines

Officers for Picknut to Morrow

Capt Bodwell

Lieut Nason

Lieut Woodbury (Inspector) for messes

(Another hand, See below, Lieut. Col on furlough)

Head Quarters Boston May 1 1778

Parole Turkey Csign Constantinople

Field Officer for ye day tomorrow Lieut Colo.

Billings ———

Commissioned officers for Guard to morrow

{ Capt: Bodwell
{ Lieut Mitchell
{ Lieut Bowen french lines

Officers for picquit to morrow ————————

{ Capt Preble
{ Lieut. Shapley
Lieut Merrill to visit ye Messes

Head Quarters May 8th 1778

A Weekly Return of the Regt of Guards at Winter Hill Comd Colo J. Gerrish

Companys	Commission officers. Col.	L. Col.	Mr	Capt.	Sub.	Staff Adj.	Qr. Mr.	Surg.	Non com'd S. M.	Sergt.	D. M.	F. M.	C. & F.	Rank & File fit for duty.	Effective R'k & File Sick.	Hos.	Abs. on Com	Furlow	Total.	Want-ed. S.	D. F.	R. & file.	Alteration since last D	D	D
[Ca]pt. Dodge	1	.	1	.	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	56	2	.	.	8	68						
" Brown	.	.	.	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	2	32	1	2	27	3	65						
" Waterhouse	.	.	.	1	3	.	.	.	.	.	3	.	1	43	3	1	8	3	58						
" Huse	.	.	.	1	3	.	.	.	.	.	3	.	2	56	4	.	4	4	68						
" Bodwell	.	.	.	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	3	.	2	52	2	.	2	5	64						
" Pr[i]ble	.	.	.	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	4	.	1	39	5	1	.	3	58						
" Wy[l]man	.	.	.	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	4	.	2	40	2	.	.	.	44						
" Ly[n]er	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	4	.	.	44	.	.	.	.	44						
[Total]	1	.	.	7	14	1	1	1	1	1	26	1	12	362	19	4	2	64	469						

Lt Colonel on Furlough—
Capt ——— Do ——
] Subbalterns Do ——
[ ] on command
[ ]ts on Furlough
[ ] command

} Winter Hill May 14th 1778

Head Quarters Boston May 2th 1778

Field officer for the day to morrow L^{t} Col^{o} Goodwin

Parole America
C. Sign Boston

Regemental Orders

Commission officers for Guards to morrow

Cap^{t} Wyman
Lieu^{t} Collins

Lieu^{t} Ober for french lines

Officers for Picquitt Cap^{t} Bodwell L^{t} Woodbury

Lieu^{t} Bowen to Visit the Messes

Head Quarters Boston May 3^{d} 1778

Parole Essex C Sign Salem

A special General Court Martial to set on teusday Morning Next at Nine ^{o}Clock at y^{e} Coffee house for y^{e} triall of Ensign John Brown of Colo Greaton's Regiment now under Arrest, Charged with behaving in an Imfamous and Scandulous Manner Unbecoming an Officer and Gentleman ———— ————

Col^{o} Lee president ————

Lieut Col^{o} Popkins	Members	Capt Winslow
Major Curtis		" Jackson
Major Swazey		" Archibald
Capt Lyman		Lieut. MacLane
Capt Fox		Lieut Newman
Capt Langdon		Lieut Honuwell

Capt Robert Allen Judge Advocate ———— ————

All evidences and Persons Concerned to attend the Court ———— ————

Adjutant Dunkerly will Notify the Members And attend y^{e} Court, — and least there should be some Difficulty in forming y^{e} Court — All the officers belonging to Colo: Lees Hendleys or Jacksons Regiments who are in y^{e} town or at Cambridge will attend on tuesday Morning at y^{e} Coffee house Untill the Court is Compleate d———— ————

Head Quarters Boston May 4th 1778

Parole CSign

Capt Hunckleys light Company with Arms is to Attend ye funeral of Capt Foster at Roxbury to morrow percisly at 4 oClock, such officers belonging to other Corps as Can do it Conveniently are desired to attend and Walk in procession —

Head Quarters Boston May 5th 1778 —

Parole C Sign

The Officers who have the Command of ye Guards Are desired to be very Carefull in preventing Any Damage being done to the Barracks

[Next leaf with two pages torn out.]

Major Curtis	Members	Capt Carnes
Major Swazey		Capt Archabald
Capt Lyman		Capt Dunnells
Capt Scott		Lieut Condey
Capt Winslow		Lieut Hunt
Capt Langdon		Ensign Lovell

Capt Allen Judge Advocate

All evidences and persons Concern'd to attend ye Court———

Adjutant Dunkerly to notify the Members and attend If any of the before Mentioned Officers, Members, Should be Absent the president is to Appoint others in their Stead———

Head Quarters Boston May 7th

Parole Dorchester C. Sign Exeter ———

Colo Reeds Regiment of Guards are to pass muster on Saterday Next and Colo Gerrish's on Monday Next at 11 oClock, Colo Gerrish is to furnish all ye Guards at Cambridge on Saterday & Colo Reed on Monday, that the men of ye Respective Regiments may be present for Muster———

The Corps of the Invalids are to send one third of their men fit for duty dailey to mount with the Main Guard, the Officer of that Guard will be pleased to see that no post assigned to ye Guards are left without a Centinal ———

Officer for ye day to morrow Lt Colo Billings

Head Quarters Boston May 8th

Parole Hampshire C Sign Portsmouth

Field Officer for the day to morrow

Lieut Colo Goodwin ———————

Commissioned Officers for Guard to morrow

Capt Preble } M Gd
Lieut Bowen }

Lieut Warren french lines Guard

Capt Dodge } prospect Hill M Gd
Lieut Porter }

Details of the Guards Mounted by
Colo Gerrish's Regiment May 9th 1778

	C	S	S	C	D	F	P
Main Guard at Prospect hill	1	2	2	2	1	1	48
Main Guard at W: Hill	1	1	1	1	1	1	36
french lines Guard	.	1	1	1	1	1	37
Laborotary Guard	.	.	1	1	.	.	15
Wood Guard	.	.	1	1	.	.	9
British Hospital Guard	.	.	1	1	.	.	9
Provision Guard	.	.	.	1	.	.	4
Bridge Guard	.	.	.	1	.	.	4
Total N°	2	4	7	9	3	3	

Paraded at seven °Clock A. M ———————

After Orders from Head Quarters May 8 Thomas Harrison a soldier in Colo Tuppers Regiment tried at the General Court Martial whereof Colo Crane is president for DESERTION the Court having duly Considered the Evidence produc'd Against Thomas Harrison together with Many other Circumstances find him Guilty of desertion and sentance him to be shot to DEATH

The General Approves ye Sentance and Orders that Thomas Harrison be shot to DEATH on the Bottom of ye Common in Boston thursday ye 21st Instant at 10 °Clock A·· M··

Serjeant Robert Stewart tried at y^e^ same General Court martial for Inlisting twice and passing muster under a feign'd Name and receiving Several Towns Bounties severally Pleads Guilty

---

Serjeant Joseph Wares and John Briant a private Soldier both belonging to Colo Greatons Regiment tried at y^e^ Same General Court Martial for Inlisting Twice and passing Muster by feign'd Names and receiving two Towns Bounties ——— ———
Severally pleads Guilty ——— ———

the Court having taken into Consideration the Crimes Committed by y^e^ Serjeant together with Many Agravated Circumstances attending y^e^ same do sentance him to be reduc'd to y^e^ ranks, receive one hundred lashes on his Naked Back and refund the Bounties he received ——— ———

The Court also Sentance Briant to receive 50 Stripes on his Naked Back and refund y^e^ Bounties he receiv'd on his second Inlistment

The General Approves y^e^ three foregoing Sentances and orders that Adjutant Dunkerly see them put into execution on tuesday Next at Nine °Clock A. M. on y^e^ Common by y^e^ Drummers of Colo Hendleys Regiment the Troops in Town of duty to attend and as soon as y^e^ Bounties are Refunded y^e^ prisoners to join their Regiments

Head Quarters Boston May 9th 1778
Parole Woscester C Sign Rutland
Field Officer for y^e^ day to morrow Major
Brown ———————
Commis officers for Guard to morrow
{ Capt Bodwell / Lieut Smith } M. G^d^
{ Lieut Mitchell french lines

Head Quarters Boston May 10th 1778
Parole Carolina C sign Charlestown —
Field Officer for the Day to morrow
Major Gage —

Commissioned Officers for Guard to morrow

Capt:
Lieut:
Lieut:

Details as Usual

Head Quarters Boston May 11th

Parole Marblehead C Sign Salem ————

Major Jonathan Pollard is appointed Deputy Adjutant General for this Department He is to be respected and Obeyed accordingly

Ten Carpenters are to be Immediately Detach'd from ye Regiments of Guards at Cambridge and sent to Rutland to Work on the Barrucks they will have ye same Additional pay as those lately Ordered to that place

One Subaltern two Serjeants four Corporals One Drum one fife and all the privates belonging to the Regiments of Guards who have had ye Small pox are to be immediately Detached to do Duty in this Town it is apprehended that ye Town will be Clear of Infection in a few days When this detachment and that sometime Since Ordered from ye Regiments of Guards will be directed to Join their respective Corps

Colo Crafts will Order one of ye Companies of Artillery now doing duty at Hull to Join those Companies now doing duty here He will Also please to remove the eighteen poundr Belonging to ye United States which is at Hull to Toylstons Wharf Where it is to be mounted On a travelling Carriage ————

Field Officer for the day to morrow

Col Reed

Commissioned Officers for Guard

Capt Brown
Lieut Skinner } M Gd
Lieut Nason french lines

Regimental Orders

the Officers of this Regiment are desired to meet On the Regimental parade on Wednesday Next at 10 oClock A. M: and so for the future till further Orders to perfect themselves in ye Mil-

itary Art and to proceed in ye Method recommended by the Congress of this state in ye Year one thousand seven hundred and seventy four Since recommended by the Grand American Congress as best Calculated for Appearance and defence ———

Head Quarters Boston May 12th

Parole Overing C: Sign Pickering

the Attention of ye Regiments in seasonably preparing the Company Rolls for muster, their Correctness and y Good Behaviour of the Troops has been such as have recommended them to ye Generals Notice, — and led him to return Publick thanks

As the time to which ye Detachment Undr the Command of Lieut Colo Symmes is Ingag'd to do duty expires this Night all Barruck & Coocking Utentials Amunition &C drawn from the Publick Stores are to be Carefully Collected this Afternoon and return'd to the Officers from which they were respectively drawn the General desires that such of that detachment as are on duty would remain untill they are regularly Reliev'd to morrow morning and returns his Most Sincere thanks to the officers and Soldiers for their Good behaviour during the Time they have been doing duty —

The light Comy undr the Command of Capt Hincley who by their Uncommon exertions have made so great a proficiency in ye knowledge of Arms, which Added to the Neatness of their Uniform and Soldr like Deportment has truly rendered them an Ornament to ye Town and State, these still Inhanc'd by their Voluntary Stepping forward to do duty Intitles them to a Double Share of Applause

No soldier belonging to ye Regiments of Guards is to presume to inlist into Any other Corps whatsoever without permission from ye General In writing

Thomas Harrison now undr Sentance of DEATH having represented that he has some Material Evidence which was not Produced at his late trial the General desires ye Court to Inquire into the matter to morrow ———

Field Officer for ye day to morrow
Colo Gerrish

Adjutant for y^e day Adams

Commissioned Officers for Guard to morrow

Lieut Challis

Lieut: Haley french lines

Head Quarters Boston May 13th

Parole Rawson C. Sign Straton

Field Officer for the day to morrow Lieut Colo Billings Adjutant Porter

Commissioned Officers for G^d to morrow

Lieut Peabody
Lieut Pearson french lines

After Orders May 9th 1778

Capt Lyman of Colo Lees Reg^t is Appointed Aid de Camp to y^e General, he is to be Obeyed and respected Accordingly

Colo Greaton having represented to y^e General the former Good Behaviour of Serjeant Wares and John Briant and petitioned for remission of Corporal Punishment to Which they Are Sentanced

the General in Confidence of their future Good Conduct remitts their being Corporally punished And Orders that upon their having refunded y^e Bounties which they have receiv'd Unjustly that they be releas'd from Confinment ———————

Head Quarters Boston May 14

Parole Green C Sign Nixon

Field Officer for y^e day to morrow Lieut Colo Goodwin Adjutant Adams

Officers for Guard

Capt — Huse
Lieut — Smith
Lieut — Mitchell

After Orders May 14 1778

The General Court martial whereof Colo Crane is president having examin'd the Evidences produced by Thomas Harrison who had represented to the General that he had several who were

not examined at y^e former Court, and having also y^e Evidence of M^r Justice Greenlief the Court After the Most mature Consideration are Unanimously of Opinion y^t the Prisoner Thomas Harrison Alias, Williams, Alias Dresire, Alias Steele Alias Wray, Alias King Alias Brown &C &C is Guilty and in Conformation of y^e former Sentance of y^e Court of y^e 7th Instant again sentances him to be shot to DEATH — y^e Gen^l again approves y sentance and Orders that it be put into execution at y^e Time and Place as directed by y^e Orders of y^e 8 Instant ———

The Centries posted at Prospect hill Cambridge Bridge and Charlestown Neck are not to allow Any British Soldier who is und^r y^e Convention of Saratoga to pass them under pretence of his being a Deserter or being desirous to Desert the General desires that y^e Officers of all Guard^s would pay strict Attention to this Order As many and Great Inconveniences Arise to y^e Publick by such Deserter Imposing on y^e Recruiting Officers, receiving large bounties arms and Cloathing and then deserting to y^e Enemy Indeed Almost y^e whole of these Troops who have entered y^e American Service have been Guilty of such Fraudulant Conduct ———

The General once more in y^e most Possitive Terms forbids y^e Inlisting of any Prisoners & Deserters as the last evening he receivd a letter from his excellency General Washington most Strictly forbidding the same, with y^e Addition If Officers will not be otherwise restrain'd they must be made to pay for all expenses and losses Occasion'd by It ———

Head Quarters Boston May 15 —

Parole Deane C Sign Franklin

Field Officer for y^e day to morrow, Major Brown

Commissioned { Officers for Guard to morrow
Lieut Mullikin
Lieut Ober french lines }

Head Quarters Boston May 16 1778

Parole Heath C Sign Lincoln ———

Colo Stearnes will please to Ord^r the Muster Rolls of such of the Companies of his Reg^t as are doing Duty at Roxbury, Dor-

chester, Castle Island and In Boston to be ready the Beginning of Next Week When y^e^ muster master will Call and pass them:

Field Officer for y^e^ day to morrow Major Gage

Adjutant Adams———————

Commissioned Officers for Guard to Morrow

Capt: Preble
Lieut Woodbury french lines
Lieut: Skinner Main Guard

Head Quarters Boston May 17 1778

Parole Elbridge C: Sign Franklin

A Court of Inquiry to set to morrow morning at 9 °Clock at Cambridge to examine into y^e^ Grounds of a Complaint entered against L^t^ John MacNeal of y^e^ 9^th^ Regiment British and Ensign George Howay of y^e^ Sixty Second Reg^t^ for being out at very unseasonable hours, and having the Countersign, the Court is also to Examine all Prisoners Confin'd at y^e^ main Guard belonging to y^e^ Convention and make report ———————

Colo Gerrish President ———————

A Major and one Captain from Colo Reeds Reg^t^ and two Captains from Colo Gerrish's Regiment — Members ———————

All Evidences and persons Concern'd to attend the Court

———————

Field Officer for y^e^ day tomorrow

Colo Reed: for y^e^ day Adjutant Porter ———————

Commissioned { Lieut Challis / Lieut Nason french lines }

Details as Usual

Head Quarters Boston May 18^th^ =

Parole Turkey C Sign Italy

Officer for y^e^ day to morrow Colo Gerrish

Officers for Guard: to morrow

{ Lieut Haley Main Guard / Lieut Peabody french lines }

Head Quarters Boston May 19th 1778

Parole Jones C Sign Knowlton

No Officer or Soldier who have Undergone ye Operation of Inoculation for ye small pox at ye hospital at Sewells point is to presume to Come into ye Town of Boston After this day or to exceed the limits that have been Assign'd them Untill they are properly Cleans'd and Can produce Certificate thereof from ye Surgeon of the Hospital ————————

Colo Gerrish will mount a Guard Consisting Of one Serjeant Corporal and 15 privates at Bunker Hill — Colo Crafts may Omit the removal of one of the Companies of the Artillery from Hull Untill further Orders ————————

Lieut John MacNeil of ye 9th Regiment And Ensign George Howay of ye 62d Regt having been Guilty of a Breach of ye Regulations Subscrib'd In their Paroles by being out at Very Unseasonable Hours Obtaining the Countersign and refusing to Attend the Court of Inquiry, the General Ords that they remain within ye Chain of Sentries On Prospect Hill and that if they or either of them are found without those limits he or they be Immediately taken Up and Sent to this place

the General Also Orders that Serjeant John Smith John Kennedy, John Huit, James Fitzgerald And George Guilbert now Confin'd in ye Main Guard at Prospect Hill, to be sent on board ye Guard Ship

Field Officer for ye day to morrow Lieut
Colo Billings Adjutant Porter ————————

Commissd { Lieut Mitchell / Lieut Smith } for Guard

Head Quarters Boston May 20th 1778

Parole Prussia C Sign Sweeden

Field Officer for ye day to morrow Lieut Colo
Goodwin Adjutant Adams ————————

Commissioned Officers for Guard to morrow

{ Capt Bodwell }
{ Lieut Merrill }
{ Lieut Collins french lines

Details as Usual ———

[Original hand.]

Regimental Orders May 21st 1778 ———

their is to be three privates detach'd from this Regt to strenthen the Guard at the store where the Brittish Troops draw provisions and to be deliver'd over daily to the Officer of that Guard by the Corporal of the french lines Guard, on the first Relief, til further Ords

Head Quarters May 21st 1778 ———————

Parole Pembrook C Sign Plymouth

As Several detachments have been detained from marching for some days on account of not having their pay — and there is now aprobility of the speedy Arrival of the Expected money : the General desires the Officers of the several detachments to make every Necessary preparation for their marching that there may be no delay after the money Arives ———————

Officer for the day to Morrow Majr Brown

Adjutant Porter —

Commission Officers for Guards to morrow

Capt Waterhouse } Main Guard
Lieut Obier }

Lieut Watts for french Lines

Details as Usual

Head Quarters Boston May 20th 1778

After Orders. — — Early this morning escaped from the main Guard on fort hill Thomas Harrison Alias Williams, Alias Dwine Alias Steall Do Brown alias Wray Alias King &c &c. ——— who was under Sentence of death, for desertion. whosoever will apprehend Said Thomas Harrison alias Williams &c. and Safly conveay him to the Main Guard in Boston Shall receive one hundred Dollars Reward

The General on this Occasion calls upon all officers who have the command of Guards who have prisoners in Custody, to be Very Vegilent to prevent such Prisoners Escaping from them the frequ ent Escapes of Late strongly Evidence the want of proper care & attention — and as the officers & Guards are accountable for the prisoners committed to their Charge Strict inquiries will be made into this conduct whenever any prisoners make their Escape ————————

Head Quarters Boston May 22„
1778

Parole Scotland C. Sign Ireland

Field Officer of the day to Morrow Majr Gage
Adjutant Adams

Officers for Guard tomorrow

Head Quarters — Capt Dodge, Lt Chellis } M. Gd
Lt Skinner F. Lines

Details a usual, & Pickuet ————————

Head Quarters May 23th 1778 ————————

Parole Gardner C Sign Heath — officer of the day tomorrow Colo Reed———— } Officers for Guards to morrow: Capt Brown, Lt Woodbury } M. G.; Lt Mulliken F lines

the new Hospital at west Boston near Bartons Point being now ready for the Reception of the Sick of the Army the patience att the Hospital in winter Street are to be removed and the commanding officers of Corps will please to Send their sick with proper certificates to the new hospital above mentioned——

where the best of care will be taken of them A sum of Money having this day Arived from York town, the commanding officers of Corps may present their Abstracts for payment as soon as they please the next week ————————

Head Quarters May 24th 1778

Parole Delaware, C. Sign Jersey

Officer of the day to morrow

Col° Gerrish ————————

Officers for Guards to morrow

Capt Huse
Lieu^t Haley } M. Guard
Lieu^t Nason for french lines

for Picquit those Relieved

Details as Usual —

Head Quarters may^th 25. 1778

Parole Rawleigh C Sign Franklin

Field officer of the day tomorrow

Lieut Col° Goodwin —

Officers for Guard to morrow

Cap^t
Lieu^t Mitchell } M. Guards
Lieu^t Smith for french lines

The Independent Company Commanded by Col° Hitchburn are to Attend the Hon^b councill in Boston on Wendsday next Cap^t Partridges company are to mount all the Guards on Dorchester Heights on that day ————————

The General Desires the D^y Q, M G to give orders to the different teamsters employed in this town and at Cambridge to avoid Carting on the Lords day except in cases that will not admit of delay without injury to the Service ————————

The Friends of Ensign John Brown now under sentence of death having Petitioned the Hon^ble Congress for a pardon his Execution is Suspended to Friday the 26 of June next at 10 Clock, A.M.

The Recruits Inlisted into the Continental Service are to Inlist to serve During the War or for three years, which is always to be understood three years from the time of Signing the Inlistment

No Recruiting officer is presum^d to Inlist any Recruits for Shorter time ————————

Head Quarters Mayth 25. 1778

Parole Washington Counter Sign Gates

Field Officer of the day to Morrow —
Maj^{r} Brown

Commissioned Officers for Guards Tomorrow —
Lieu^{t} Shapleigh M. G
Lieu^{t} Hubbard F L

Head Quarters Boston May 27. 1778

Parole Dover. Counter Sign Berwick
Officer for the Day to morrow Maj^{r} Gage

Officer of Guards { Cap^{t} Bodwell, Lieu^{t} Bowen } { Lieu^{t} Collins French Lines

Head Quarters Boston May 28
1778 ————————

Parole Newcastle, C. Sign Kent ————————

Field Officers for the day tomorrow
Col^{o} Reed ————————

Officers for Guard to morrow

{ Cap^{t} Waterhouse, L^{t} Collins } Main Guards
{ L^{t} —— Merrill French Lines

After Orders May 28, 1778

Col^{o} Reeds Regement of Guards is to pass Muster on Munday Next at ten °Clock A.M. Col^{o} Gerrish^{s} Regement is to mount all the Guards at Cambridge on that day ————————

Col^{o} Gerrish,s Regement of Guards are to pass Muster on tuesday Next at 10 °Clock A. M. Col^{o} Reed is to mount all the Guards on the day the officers will please to have their Ready in Season for muster ————————

Head Quarters May 29th 1778

Parole Warren C Sign Lincoln
Field officers for the day to morrow Col^{o} Gerrish

Officers for Guards to morrow

Capt Brown
Lieut Watts
Lieut Ober, French lines

Head Quarters May 30–Boston 1778

Parole Stoughton C. Sign Hollis

Field officer for the Day tomorrow Lieut Colo Goodwin

officers of Guards to morrow
Lieut Woodbury Main Guard
Lieut Peabody French lines

Head Quarters Boston May 31-1778

Parole Independance C Sign America —

Field officer for the day tomorrow Majr Brown

Officers for Guards to morrow ———————

Capt Dodge
Lieut Nason } Prospect Hill
Lieut Chellis Winter hill
Lieut Mullican French lines

Details for June 1th 1768

	C.	L.	S.	C.	D.	F.	P.
Main Guard Winter hill —	1	1	1	1	1	1	38
Guard at french lines —	0	1	1	1	1	1	27
M. Gd at Prospect Hill —	1	1	1	1	1	1	40
Labatory Guard ———	0	0	1	1	0	0	15
Wood Yard at Prospect hill —	0	0	0	1	———		9
British Hospital Gd ———	0	0	0	1	———		6
Bridge Guard ———————————				1	———		3
Provision Guard ———————————				1	———		3
	2 ..	3 ..	4 ..	8 ..	3 ..	3 ..	141

Head Quarters Boston June 1th 1778

Parole Norfolk C Sign Virginia

Field officer for the day to Morrow Majr Gage

Officers for Guards tomorrow

Cap^{t} Dodge } M. Guard
Lieu^{t} Nason }
Lieut Haley French lines

Head Quarters June 2th 1778 Boston

Parole Hancock C Sign Adams —

Field officer for the day to morrow Col^{o} Reed

Officers for Guards to morrow { Cap^{t} Huse, L^{t} Skinner, L^{t} Shapleigh french lines

Details as usual

Head Quarters Boston June 3th 1778

Parole Berwick C Sign Dover

Field Officer for the day tomorrow Col: Gerrish

the 9 Regement British of the Convention is to march for Rutland on Tuesday Next at 8 ^{o}Clock percisely They are to be escorted by the Company belonging to Col^{o} Stearns Reg^{t} now doing duty at Cambridge which is to compl^{t}eated to Sixty Rank & file if itts present Strength is Short of that Number; the Company is to be compleated from Col^{o} Reeds Regem^{t} the detachment is to draw four days provisions the day before they march two or three of which is to be cooked for the purpose of Convenience on the March; the Cooking Utentials is to be carried on

Major Hopkins will Seasonably furnish the Necessary Wagons

The General desires the officers of all Corps to Inculcate on their respective Guards and Centeries, and Patroles, the greatest Vigilence and Alertness in duty, and by no means to Allow them to Grow in the least Remiss ———

Neglects in Guards or Sentinals are unpardonable as they are the Eyes of the Garrison, or Army Should they Slumber on their posts, the Severest punishment should be Inflicted, and disgrace and Infamy Consequently: but all these may Come far Short of Atoning for the Ill Consequences of their Neglect ——

The Officers of the Respective Guards are not Allow any offi-

cer or Soldier of the Troops of the Convention to take and conveay within the Chaines of Sentries any Soldier found without the Chain of Centeries, Cloathed in the Continental Uniform — under the pretence of his Being a diserter from them: the General also once more forbids any British Soldier being allowed to pass the Chain of Centeries under the pretence of his Being a Diserter or Intending to desert ———————

Same officer as mounted Yersterday
Lieu[t] Hubbard french lines L[t] Pearson Main Guard ———————

Head Quarters Boston June 4[th] 1778

Parole Rutland C Sign Duxbridge

Field officers for the day to Morrow L[t] Col[o] Goodwin

officers for Guards to Morrow

Cap[t] Prible, Lieu[t] Bowen } Main Guard —
Lieu[t] Collins for french lines

Head Quarters Boston June 5[th] 1778

Parole Denmark C Sign Norway

Field Officer for the day to Morrow Maj[r] Brown

Officers for Guards to Morrow——— ———

Cap[t] Huse, Lieu[t] Ober } M. G.
Lieu[t] Peabody french Lines

Details as Usual

After Orders June [th]4 1778 Serjeant James Hunt of Col[o] Lees Regement, tried at the General Court Martial whereof Micael Jackson Is President for Desertion & Peter Curtiss of Col[o] Henleys Regement tried at the Same General Court Martial for the same offence the Prisoners Severally plead Guilty; the Court after mature Consideration Sentence Serjant James Hunt to be Reduced to the Ranks and Receive fifty Stripes on his Naked back: and Sentence Peter Curtiss to Receive one Hundred Lashes on [his Naked] Back — The General approves the Sentenc[e and orders] that Adjutant Dunkerly put them in Execu-

[illegible] [illegible] Clock by the Drummers of Col° Huntys Regiment — [illegible] on particular Intimation to Relief of Serjeant [illegible] Head Abercrombie Circumstances offered to his [illegible] The General Recommends the Troops And Orders [that he] Be Rewarded to the Value; and that he wait[s with] the first Detachment of Continental Troops[;] and all Regiments & Detachments are to March immediately and Join their Respective Corps ———

The Detachment Ordered from Cap° Partridges Company to do Duty at Castle Island are to Join their Company Immediately & all the Men of that Company Except those on Guard Duties & Waiters are Daily to Work on the New Redoubt be[tween] Fort N° 1 and N° 2 A Commission Officer is to oversee them under the Direction of Col° Gridley ———

Field officer of the day Tomorrow Lt Col° Goodwin

Officers for Guards to Morrow ———

Cap°
Lieut Colo } M. Guard
Lieut Skinner for french lines

If any of the Regiments of Guards are desirous of Drawing rice in lieu of vinegar pay where so much is due And the troops have Passed Muster the Abstracts may be Presented and Orders will be given for Payment ———

Head Quarters Boston June 19th 1775

Parole Washington C Sign Lee

Field officer of the day Tomorrow Maj° Brown

Regimental Orders The officers of the Regim[ts] are hereby Notified that the time Mentioned in the orders of the 11th of May last for the Officers to Exercise is Altered for the future, Instead of morning at the Hour of ten they are to meet at the Usual place at half an hour after five O Clock in the morning Every day beginning to Morrow Morning & as Expected Strict attent[n] will be paid to this Order ———

Officers of Guards to morrow
Cap° Waterhouse
[illegible]
Lt Rickard for french lines } Main Guard

Head Quarters Boston June 11th 1778

Parole Mechias C. Sign Soco

Field Officer of the day to Morrow Majr
Gage ———————

Officers for Guards to Morrow

Capt
Lieut Collins } Main Guard
Lieut Pearson for french Lines

June 11th After Orders from Head Quarters Boston

A Strict and Watch full Eye is to be kept over Prisoners of war Removed this morning from the Guard Ship to prospect Hill They are to be Quartered as Compact togeather as possible and the Sentries are to have aparticuler Charge Respecting them: no one of them is to be allowed a pass under pretence of being a Servant to any Officer: or to come without the Chain of Centeries on any pretence Whatsoever without Express leave in Writing from the General ———————

The Commanding officers of all Corps will please to pay strict attention to the Arms and Amunition that they may be Ready to turn out on the Shortist Notice — Compleatly Equiped: on any Alarm the troops Immediately to Repair to their Alarm posts (as followeth) The Regements of Guards at Cambridge on their own Parades: The Troops in Boston, Except the Invalids in the fort on fort Hill: the Invalids Before the Generals Qrs —

———————

The two Companys of Colo Stearns Regement at Roxbury on their own Parade; the Independant — Company Equally divided in fort No two and three at Dorchester: and Capt Partriges Company in fort Number one at Dorchester point ———————

Head Quarters Boston June 12th 1778

Parole Charlestown — C Sign Boston

Field Officer of the day to Morrow
Colo Reed

Officers for Guards to morrow

Capt Dodge
Lieut Porter } M. G
Lieut Peabody French lines

Head Quarters Boston June 13th 1778

The General Assembly Sitting at Watertown has made it Necessary that the limits of the paroles Granted to the officers of the Convention Should be Restricted on that side ———————

The General at the Same time is desirous that the officers should Enjoy every Reasonable Indulgen[ce] and limits sufficently Extencive for their Riding for the[ir] Amusement ——— gives them permission to Ride or wal[k] in the Road which crosses from Watertown to the Manotom[y] Road near the west end of Manotomy pond ——————— But no Quarters are to be taken on this Road. No Non commissioned officer or Soldier is to walk or Ride in this Road under pretence of being an officers Servant and having a pass: Unless he be actually Waiting Upon his Master present at the Same time ———————

June 13, 1778

Parole Laurens C Sign Congress

Field officer of the day to morrow Colo Gerrish

Officers for Guard to morrow

Capt Bodwell
Lieut Woodbury } M. Guard
Lieut Smith french lines

Head Quarters June 14th 1778

Parole Connecticutt C Sign Danbury

Samuel Gilbert and John Doter of the Corps of Invalids tried at the Garrison Court Marshal whereof Capt Langdon is president For theft ———————

The Court are of Opinion that as the prisoners Messes in the Same Room that they took the provisions thro' mistake and Acquit them of the Crime Alledged against them ———————

the General approves the opinion of the Court, and orders the prisoners Released from their Confinement Immediately ———

No furloughs is to be Granted to officers but by the General

The Commanding officers of Corps are directed not Grant furloughs to more than two men in fifty at A time and in that propotion in their Respective Corps ————————

Field officer of the day Morrow Lieu^{t} Col^{o} Goodwin.

Officers for Guards tomorrow
Lieu^{t} Haley Main Guard
Lieu^{t} Mitchell for french lines

A Serjeant Corporal and Six men for the Provision Store to morrow to continue there till the Commissary has Issued provisions for the troops of Convention and then to be Releived —

Head Quarters Boston June 15th 1778

Parole McDougle C Sign Glover

Field officer of the day to morrow Maj^{r} Brown

officers for Guard to morrow

Cap^{t} Prible, Lieu^{t} Mullican } M. Guard
Lieu^{t} Skinner for french Lines

Details as Usual

Head Quarters Boston June 16th 1778

Parole Spencer. C. Sign Sullivan

Field Officer for the day to morrow
Major Gage ————————

Commissioned Officer for Guards to Morrow { Lieu^{t} Merrill Main Guard ———————— Lieu^{t} Challis for French lines

After Orders for June th 16, 1778

The Soldier belonging to the Guards who was Sentry on the 10 Instant and whilst on duty Stab'd a German Soldier of y^{e} Convention not far from Prospect Hill, is to be Immediately Confined in the Main Guard ————————

The Court of Inquiry wherof Col^{o} Gerrish is President will sit to morrow morning at Nine ^{o}Clock at Such place as the Pres-

ident Shall appoint Carfully to Examine this matter and Report to The General ————If any of the former Members are Absent from the Garrison others are to be put on ————— all Evidences & persons concerned are to attend the Court ——

The Court will also Inquire into the Conduct of Cap^{t} Sheldon of the 9th Regiment British; Cap^{t} Jones of y^{e} 24: Cap^{t} Kirheman of y^{e} 21st Doctor Pemberton of the 21st Lieu^{t} Norman & Lieu^{t} Tarrians of the 29 — Now Restricted to the limits of Prospect Hill for an Infraction of their paroles on Saturday Evening the 6th Instant at Bradishes, the Adjutant of Col^{o} Reeds Regement being a Principal Evidence if he is not Returned to the Garrison the Court will adjourn to the morrow: Every Circumstance on both Sides is to be carfully Noted ————

Head Quarters Boston June 17–1778

Parole Haverhill C Sign Newbury

Field Officer for the day to morrow Col^{o} Reed

Commission officer } Lieu^{t} Ober M. G.
for Guard to mor^{w} } Lieu^{t} Shapleigh F. L.

Head Quarters Boston June 18. 1778.

Parole Kenebeck C. Sign Falmouth

Fresh pond (so called): being without the limits assigned to the officers of the Convention ————

the Non Commissioned officers and Privates are not to strole there, and in all places y^{e} Officers Servants, are on no pretence to Exceed the limits Assign,d to their masters ————

Should any offend in th[is] particular they are to be taken up and Confin,d

the 29 Regement British under the Conven[tion] of Saratoga and the prisoners of War lately Removed from the Guard Ship to prospect Hill are to hold themselves in Readiness to Remove to Rutland ————

The General Again desires the officers of all Corps, to pay particular attention to the State of y^{e} Mens Armes And Amunition and tha[t] all Guards and Centeries be frequently admonis[hed] to Vigelance and Alertness in Duty ————

the Guard at Cambridge bridge is to be kept as Strong as y^e^ Strength of the Garrison will admit, if not, to its full Number two Sent[ries] are to mount there in the night time and to be posted on the North Side of the Bridge

June 18, 1778 Field Officer for the day to morrow

Col^o^ Gerrish } Officers of Guards
Details as Usual } Lieu^t^ Hubbard M. G.
Lieu^t^ Collins F. Lines

Head Quarters Boston June 19^th^ 1778

Parole Winchester C Sign Dumfries

Field Officer for the Day to Morrow
Lieu^t^ Col^o^ Goodwin —

Officers for Guards to morrow — — — — —

Lieut Pearson Main Guards
Lieu^t^ Woodbury for french lines

The Funeral of the Unfortunate Lieu^t^ Brown is to be this afternoon, the General desires that every mark of decency and Respect may be Exibited in y^e^ Countenances and behaviour of the Guards which the Solemnity of Death in Every Instance dictates as well becoming Rational beings ————

Every act of kindness is to be afforded. A sufficient Number of Non Commissioned Officers and Privates of the Troops of Convention are to be permitted to bear y^e^ Corps from y^e^ funeral House to the place of Interment and are to Return Immediately to the Hill ————

During the time of the procession and Interment all the Guards are to be under armes at their Respective Guard houses and the officers and men of Duty on their Regemental Parades. The General on this Occasion would Observe that Whenever any thing Extraordinary happens in or near the Garrison the troops instead of Runing in a promiscuous Manner as [spec]tators Should Instantly Repair to their Respective par[ades] that they may be Ready to Execute Such Orders as t[he] Sudden Emmergency may Require ————

In particular all officers and men on Guard Should strictly con-

duct themselves in such manner —— - The reasons for this are so Obvious as to not need any explanation If any of the officers of the Regements of Guard[s] are Inclin'd to attend y^e^ funeral and Walk in procession The General Would wish them to do it

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Head Quarters Boston June 20^th^ 1778

Parole Scotland C Sign Ireland

Field officer of the day to morrow.

Major Brown —

Commissioned officer for Guard to morrow } Lieu^t^ Peabody } M. Guard / Lieu^t^ Mitchell } French Lines

Head Quarters Boston June 20^th^ 1778

After Orders — the Court of Inquiry wherof Col^o^ Gerrish is presedent having carfully Investigated the facts Res[pec]ting Joshua Howard a Soldier belonging to Col^o^ Gerrish^s^ Regement of Guards his Stabing A German Soldier of the Convention are of Opinion from the Evidence Adduced that the Centinal did his duty as a Good Soldier and Ought to be released from his Confinement ——————

The General Orders Joshua Howard to be released from Confinement Immediately ——————

The Court of Inquiry Whereof Col^o^ Gerrish is Persident is to set on Monday Next at Nine °Clock A.M. at Such place as y^e^ president shall Appoint, to Examine into y^e^ Centinal posted at Prospect Hill on y^e^ 17. Instant and now confined in the Main Guard for Shooting Lieu^t^ Richard Brown of the 21 Reg^t^ British, and make report All Evidences and persons Concern^d^ are to Attend the Court

Head Quarters Boston June 21^th^ 1778

Parole Gardner C. Sign Scammel

Field officer of the Day to Morrow Maj^r^

Major Gage

Commissioned officers for Guards to Morrow

} Lieu^t^ Mullican } Main Guard
/ Lieu^t^ Porter } French Lines

Head Quarters Boston June 22, 1778

Parole Rawley C Sign Ipswich

The General has been Informed that on the 17 Instant When Lieut Brown was Shot by a Centinal near Prospect Hill y^e^ Said Centinal After discharging his peice on his post was Insulted beat & Abused by Several Soldiers of the Convention———

As a Centinal is in no case to be Insulted on his post or beat, but if Guilty of Misconduct is to be Regularly releived and Confined ———

The General directs that a Strict Enquiry [be] made into this matter —and if any of the Soldiers who Abused the Centinal are known or can be found — that they Immediately Confin^d^

The Court of Inquiry are desired to take Cognizance of this matter and to Inquire Whether the Serjeant who Commanded the Guard to Whom y^e^ Centinal belonged did his duty in Instantly turning out his Guard to Support and Defend the Centinall Against the least Insult: which should have been Effectually done, and that if it should appear y^t^ the Serjeant has been Guilty of Neglect That he be Confined ———

The Commanding officers of the Corps of Invalids will pay particular attention to the Well Disciplying of that Corps — the Men off Duty Are to parade before the Generals Quarters on Tuesdays and thursday at 5 °Clock Afternoon well Armed and Accutred, where they are to perform their Exercise and Maunve s———

Field Officer of the Day tomorrow

Col^o^ Reed ———

Commissioned officers for Guard tomor[row]

Lieu^t^ Challis main Guard

Lieu^t^ Merrill French lines

Head Quarters Boston June 23. 1778

Parole Providence C Sign Newport

Field officer of the Day to Morrow

Col^o^ Gerrish

Commission[d] Officers for Guards tomorrow
Lieu[t] Shapleigh for M. Guard
Lieu[t] Ober for french lines

Head Quarters Boston June 24 [1778]

Parole Scituate C. Sign Hingham

Field Officer of the day to morrow
Lieu[t] Col[o] Goodwin — — — —
Officers for Guards to morrow
Lieut Woodbury M. Guard
Lieu[t] Parsons For french lines

Head Quarters Boston June 25 1778

Parole Plymouth C Sign Dartmouth

Field officer of the day to morrow Maj[r] Brown

Commission officers for Gua[rd to morrow] } Lieu[t] Shapleigh M G — Lieu[t] H[ ] lines

The foot of this page is much worn, and the remainder of the manuscript was destroyed many years ago.

GOVERNOR CHRISTOPHER GORE AND HIS VISIT TO MAINE.

BY WILLIAM GOOLD.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, February 9, 1888.

CHRISTOPHER GORE was the eighth of the eleven governors elected by the people of Massachusetts under the constitution, while the district of Maine formed a part of the commonwealth. He was born in Boston, September 21, 1758. His father was a loyalist, but did not leave his province. The sons

took the other side of the contest. Samuel Gore, a painter, the eldest son and a brother to Christopher, was one of the party that destroyed the tea in Boston in 1773. Christopher Gore was educated at Harvard College, and graduated in the class of 1776, and settled in his native town of Boston. In 1789, he was appointed the first district attorney of Massachusetts by President Washington, under the constitution of 1787. In 1796, Mr. Gore was elected one of the commissioners under the fourth article of Jay's treaty, to settle the claims of the United States upon Great Britain for spoliations. This appointment took him to London where he remained eight years, successfully engaged in the duties of his office. In 1803, he was left *chargé des affaires*.

Governor Sullivan (who was a native of Maine) died in the second year of his service as chief magistrate of the commonwealth, December 10, 1808, which left Mr. Lincoln, lieutenant-governor, to act in his place during the remainder of the term. In 1809, Mr. Lincoln was the candidate of the Democratic party for governor. The Federal party nominated Mr. Gore—he had been its candidate the year preceding. Mr. Gore had been much in public life at home and abroad, and was particularly qualified for chief magistrate. Law was his profession and politics had long been his study. It was a time of great political excitement. The people were groaning under the burden of the embargo, which had been in force nearly two years to the great injury of New England industries.

In December of that year, twelve months after the embargo was laid, an additional act was passed by Congress to enforce it, under the pretense that evasions of the first law had taken place. This act was more strict and severe than the first law—that of December 1807. This statute was so oppressive in the seaport towns of Massachusetts proper and of the district of Maine, that the people became greatly excited. This was the state of affairs when the state election was held, which was attended with as much spirit and activity as on any former occasion. It was virtually a national, and not a mere state issue. Mr. Gore was elected, but by less than three thousand majority.

The next year the obnoxious restrictions on commerce were not enforced with so much vigor, and modifications were promised when Governor Gore and Lieutenant-governor Cobb lost their election.

In 1814, Governor Gore was chosen to the United States senate, in which capacity he served about three years, and then withdrew into final retirement. Mr. Gore had been a very successful lawyer and had amassed a fortune. Daniel Webster studied law with him. Governor Gore died at his residence in Waltham, March 1, 1829. In 1783, he had married Rebecca, daughter of Deacon Edward Paine, of Boston, who survived him. They had no children.

Gore Hall at Cambridge, which contains the university library, commemorates a munificent bequest in Mr. Gore's will. It was named for him.

William Sullivan describes Governor Gore as tall,

a little inclined to corpulency in middle age, and erect, but he began to bend at an earlier age than common. He became bald at an unusually early period. His hair was tied behind and dressed with powder. His face was round and florid; his eyes black; his manner courteous and amiable.

John T. Morse, junior, says "Governor Gore was a high-bred, courtly gentleman of the old school. His habits and appearance partook largely of that aristocratic element which then distinguished the prominent Federalists throughout the country, and nowhere in a greater degree than in Boston. He had a magnificent house at Waltham (ten miles from Boston), with marble floor, a deer park, and like expensive, luxurious appointments. He drove a coach and four with outriders in livery. Indeed it is said that the loss of his election to a second term of the governorship was largely due to these over-gorgeous habits."

Governor Gore effected a great improvement in the vegetable and fruit market of Boston. He had resided near London several years before he built his house at Waltham and Covent Garden market did not escape his eye. He laid out extensive grounds for gardening. He raised a great surplus of vegetables. His gardener soon stood in Boston market with the finest and earliest vegetables that had been seen there, and some new varieties.

Much of our interest in the memory of Governor Gore, and his administration, arises from the fact that he was the first and only governor who had been elected under the constitution, that visited the east-

ern district of the commonwealth before Maine became an independent state while in office. The royal governors in their time, occasionally came sailing into our harbors in ships of war with a numerous retinue to build forts at public expense, to make more valuable the domain of some land company in which they were interested, or to ascertain if any more men could possibly be furnished for the expeditions to the Canadian frontier; or perhaps to see if the people would bear an additional one per cent on their province tax. When they came, it was not singly but by battalions. When Governor Shirley came to build Fort Halifax in 1754, he brought eight hundred men with him. In 1759, when Governor Pownal built the fort at Penobscot, he brought with him and collected at Falmouth three hundred and fifty-nine men whom he says in his journal he billeted out on the people of the town. In 1732, when Governor Belcher came to Falmouth in a man of war "and a sloop from Boston with councillors, representatives and other gentlemen from all parts of the country" they staid three weeks and seem, according to Parson Smith, to have been an uncommonly hungry party. He says in his journal, August 2: "The vessels all sailed today. They have left us quite bare, and nothing of the country's produce left, only three bushels of corn, and some small things." His next entry is one that was a natural consequence. He says, "we had a public fast."

Governor Gore came to the district of Maine to visit and encourage an infant institution of learning,

and to qualify himself to act as chief magistrate. Until the separation in 1820, all those noted governors were *our* governors, from Hancock to Brooks, as truly as if we had been citizens of Suffolk, Middlesex or Norfolk, and our district helped to elect them and pay their salary, and to make the laws which they signed and executed.

I can recollect when my father left his home in the fall of 1815, in a two-wheeled chaise, with his trunk strapped to the axle, for Boston to represent his town in the general court. He was a firm believer in Governor Strong and his policy. At the commencement at Harvard College, August 30, 1809, Governor Gore was received with marked honors, and the degree of doctor of laws was conferred upon him. The next Wednesday, September 6, was fixed for the fourth commencement at Bowdoin College, which his Excellency had engaged to attend. This of course caused great commotion in Cumberland and Lincoln counties. It is a fact of history and recollection that his Excellency came in his own family coach with four horses, accompanied by his lady. He was received at the Piscataqua by Captain Tenant's company of calvary and escorted to Kennebunk. Judge George Thacher, who had been the governor's classmate and chum in college, lived at Biddeford. In college his class shortened up Mr. Gore's name to "Kitty." When it was announced that the governor would visit Brunswick, Judge Thacher sent him an invitation to stop at his house on the way, and addressed him in the note as "Kitty Gore." After spending a night with

the judge, the citizens of Biddeford and Saco escorted the governor to Scarborough, where a calvacade composed of the military officers and citizens of Portland, headed by the sheriff of the county, the courtly Colonel Hunnewell, in breeches and cocked hat, were waiting for him. On entering Portland a salute from Captain Hopkins' company of artillery greeted him. At the junction of the present Congress and Grove streets, the Portland light infantry, Captain Francis Osgood, assumed the escort, and proceeded to the house of Stephen McLellan on High street, which had been provided for him. This house is now the residence of Horatio N. Jose. Here his Excellency and his lady spent the Sabbath.

The governor had two aids with him, and the lieutenant-governor, General David Cobb of Taunton, was also of the visiting party, who were all entertained by the town authorities at a public dinner at Union Hall. Judge Samuel Freeman presided at the dinner. The governor's toast was, "The town of Portland; among the earliest to suffer in the cause of liberty, may she always remain firm in her defense and rich in her blessings."

On Tuesday, the fifth, the governor and lady proceeded to Brunswick in their coach. A laughable mistake was made by the people gathered at the villages on the road. Captain John Mussey, of Portland, was going to Brunswick to witness the graduation effort of his son John, who had two parts assigned him in the exercises. Captain Mussey had a brother-in-law, Mr. Smith, of Newburyport, who was to join

the Mussey party at the graduation, and came with Mrs. Smith in their family coach. Captain Mussey, by invitaton, took a seat in the Smith coach, which left Portland on Tuesday morning a little ahead of that of his Excellency. Mr. Smith and Captain Mussey received a warm greeting on the road from the people, who took them for the governor and his party. Soon the coach and four, with outriders in livery, came along, containing the courtly governor and his lady, when they saw that they had wasted their freshest laurels, and shouted the louder.

On Wednesday the sixth, occurred the fourth commencement of Bowdoin College, then presided over by President Appleton. The graduating class numbered only five. John Mussey, one of the number, died in May, 1886, having attained to the great age of ninety-five years; a greater age than has ever been reached by any other graduate of the college. There was a great gathering from the surrounding towns to see Governor Gore. A public dinner and ball was given at Dunning's hall—the dinner by the government of the college.

Thursday was spent by the governor and lieutenant-governor in looking over the college buildings and the town. On the eighth, the distinguished party went to Bath by invitation, and were entertained at a public dinner, which was attended by President Appleton and the professors of the college. The governor lodged at General King's. After a day spent in Bath his Excellency set off for Wiscasset. He was taken across the Kennebec in an elegant barge, rowed

by six shipmasters of Bath, and was received by the selectmen of Woolwich. At this point the governor was met by a committee from Georgetown, the chairman of which, Honorable Mark Langdon Hill, bore an address and an invitation to visit that ancient town. In the congratulatory address the selectmen of Georgetown said, "Four provincial governors have been borne along on the waters of the Kennebec, but you are the first governor of independent Massachusetts to visit its shores." At Wiscasset, Governor Gore was honored with the fourth public dinner since entering the District of Maine, although it was a time of great depression. Silas Lee presided at the table. General King had ordered out his division of four regiments under Brigadier-general Abiel Wood, to assemble at Brunswick on the ninth for review by his Excellency. The officers dined with the governor. Mr. Mussey related to me an incident, the mention of which did not appear in any public account of the parade. After the review, in which the governor was attended by two aids and the lieutenant governor, the entire division escorted his Excellency through the town and to Topsham. After a long march the column was headed towards the governor's lodgings, as he evidently supposed to take leave of him; but the commanding general showed no disposition to halt. His Excellency and aids wheeled out and took a position facing the escort, and with hat in hand, waited for the column to pass, and then with a bow went to the governor's lodgings, and the escort went on. This saved his Excellency one speech—he had already made one at the table.

This eleventh division—the fourth in the district of Maine, was established the year before. It was composed of the two brigades of Lincoln county, which had previously been a part of the eighth (Kennebec) division under General Sewall. The separation and establishing a new division caused much ill feeling. The militia was then an important wheel in the political machine, and military offices, for their titles, and the political power they conferred, were much sought for. This new division was established especially for William King, who was then a senator in the legislature, to create offices for him and his friends; and Mr. King was chosen by the general court, major-general without any previous military service as an officer. The Boston Repertory thus announces his election: "A military rocket. Yesterday William King was a private soldier. To-day he is a major-general."

At the time of the establishment of this new division Governor Gore was a representative from Boston which may perhaps account in part for the refusal of his Excellency to be further escorted by its officers.

Governor Gore remained in Brunswick and vicinity for several days. On the fifteenth he passed through Lewiston escorted by a cavalcade on his way to Boston by the back route. He arrived home on the twenty-first, escorted from Salem by the Boston troop of light horse. He had been absent three weeks.

FATHER BIARD'S RELATION OF 1616 AND SAINT SAUVEUR.

BY REV. E. C. CUMMINGS.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 7, 1893.

Maine is distinguished from the other eastern states by the fact that much of its early history belongs, not to New England, but to New France. The drama of French missions, for example, includes Maine in its theater east of the Kennebec; and Maine inherits an important record in this unique movement.

Here the story of religious enterprise is of a piece with the story of secular adventure. You cannot know one without the other. To teach Christianity to the savages was naturally enough part of the French programme of colonization and trade; but in this combination of spiritual and worldly aims different minds were actuated by different motives, and this was the source of much practical difficulty.

When his most Christian majesty, Henry IV, accorded special authority and privileges in America to the Sieur de Monts in 1603, it was with distinct reference to the conversion of the native tribes. And when the Sieur de Monts granted to the Sieur de Poutrincourt a territory and rights at Port Royal in Acadia, it was with a like reference to the establishment of Christianity in that territory.

The ideal of an expedition for combined colonization and propagation of the faith was one thing; the practical carrying out of the programme was quite

another thing. The favor of the church, of the court, of noblemen looking for a career of government, of honorable women to contribute vestments, plate and ornaments for forest chapels, — these were easily secured; but the more substantial sinews of enterprise and war, the venturing of property by merchants, the chartering of vessels and crews under definite terms of obligation, — here was something vastly more difficult to arrange with anything like a satisfactory precision; here was the ground of endless conflicts of sentiment, disputes of understanding, and warfare of practical methods. A manner of living in this new department of affairs had to be matured by experience; and it required a considerable time, with the failure of immature trials, to enable the representatives of religion to make friends among the representatives of "the mammon of unrighteousness," so as to secure anything like a permanent habitation on these inhospitable coasts.

Father Biard paid the penalty of being, with Father Ennemond Masse, the earliest of the Jesuit missionaries in New France. The penalty was that his mission was tentative and brief. His own story of it, the first of the Jesuit Relations, is interesting and instructive on this account. It is addressed in a letter to the king, and may be taken as a larger letter in a narrative form. Mr. Augustine Birrell, in *Res Judicatæ*, says: —

> It is of the essence of letters that we should have the whole of each. I think it wrong to omit the merely formal parts. They all hang together. . . . . Every letter a man writes is an

incriminating document. It tells a tale about him. Let the whole be read or none.

This seems just in general, and it is gratifying that Doctor Alexander Brown of Virginia, has gone so far toward fulfilling the demands of justice with respect to Father Biard, in his "Genesis of the United States," whether the documents which he gives be reckoned as incriminating or justifying.

But, though belonging in a way to a letter, Father Biard's Relation has the character of an extended memoir, in which he speaks of himself in the third person, and may properly be quoted at least with respect to certain points of fact wherein justice or injustice to the author is not involved. Especially Father Biard's Relation may be taken as conclusive upon the chronology or topography of his mission. The Relation was published in 1616, after his return to France, and the last sentence of the preface is: —

> It is now four years since I was sent thither (*i.e.*, to New France) by my superiors, and, God punishing my sins, I have since been carried away by the English, as I shall hereafter relate.

The good father's reference to his sins is too vague a confession to be used against him, and it must have seemed a benign punishment to find himself again, after four such years, in his native country.

In the experience of these four years Father Biard had gained much important information. He had acquired some familiarity with the coast, from Port Royal to the Kennebec; had had his attention especially attracted to Pentagoët, — a name which stands for the Penobscot, river and bay, — as well as for a

certain locality identified with Castine; had studied the climate of the country and the disposition of the inhabitants; had learned much of their domestic and industrial habits, their political arrangements, their religious notions; and had well appreciated the significance of great waterways to any intercourse or commerce with them. Indeed, he had found means of exchanging ideas with these people, great as was the difficulty of so doing on both sides. The secular priest, M. Flèsche, called "the patriarch," Father Biard's precursor in evangelistic efforts, had baptized a considerable number of natives without sufficient instruction, as it seemed to Father Biard, since most of them did not honor the faith they had professed; yet there was one, the Sagamore Membertou, who was an intellectual man and a serious Christian. There grew up a decided reciprocal confidence between him and the Jesuits, and Father Biard's portrait of this person is memorable: —

> He often said to them [the Jesuits] "Learn our language; for when you have learned that you will teach me, and I having been taught shall become a preacher like you, and we will convert the whole country." The savages have no memory of any sagamore of grander character or more undisputed authority. He was bearded like a Frenchman, and would that all the French had been as well advised and discreet as was he.

The French adventurers of this period, however, were not all well-advised and morally-disciplined men. There were not wanting those who aggravated the pressure of the most trying conditions by selfish views and treacherous machinations. The human constitution, under the highest motives, is not equal to the

strain of the most dangerous and disappointing undertakings. And when nothing came to pass according to the prospectus, how should not the sufferers be discontented with one another, and look for the attainment of their ends under other and more favorable auspices? This is enough to say now about the unhappy relations between Father Biard and his Jesuit coadjutor, and the secular adventurers with whom they were embarked.

The pious Madame de Guerchville, however, acting as their sympathetic providence at home, was determined that these self-sacrificing men should have an outfit of their own, and be established at some suitable place on a less precarious footing. From this came the tragic and fatal episode of Saint Sauveur.

Saint Sauveur has come into history,[1] and into the materials of history, to say nothing of popular tradition, in so many connections that I should have little or nothing to say about it were it not for the hope that, by holding very closely to Father Biard's Relation, as that of an eye-witness, we might be able to correct some inexact representations of even the most respectable writers.

In Williamson's history of Maine, volume I, page 206, we are told in reference to Father Biard and his companions: —

> It is supposed the place of residence selected by the missionaries was on the western side of the pool, a part of the sound which stretches from the southeasterly side to the heart of the island. Here they constructed and fortified an habitation,

[1] Particularly in Parkman's Pioneers of France in the New World, Chap. vii.

planted a garden, and dwelt five years, entering with great zeal and untiring perseverance upon the work of converting the natives to Christianity.

There is no indication that this extract owes anything to Father Biard's Relation; but a sentence in Bancroft's History of the United States, ninth edition, volume I, pages 27, 28, evidently does owe something to it, only in justice to Father Biard the debt should have been considerably greater. Bancroft says: —

A French colony within the United States followed, under the auspices of de Guerchville and Mary of Medici; the rude intrenchments of Saint Sauveur were raised by de Saussaye on the eastern shore of Mount Desert Isle. The conversion of the heathen was the motive to the settlement; the natives venerated Biard as a messenger from heaven; and under the summer sky, round a cross in the center of the hamlet, matins and vespers were regularly chanted. France and the Roman religion had appropriated the soil of Maine.

The reader of Bancroft is allowed to enjoy this idyllic picture till more than a hundred pages further on, when Captain Argal appears upon the scene.

It is well to pay strict attention to the somewhat scanty dates given by Father Biard. He embarked from Dieppe the sixth of January, 1611, and did not reach Port Royal till the twenty-second of June, the same year; which gives occasion for the pleasantry, that after all their tedious delays they set sail too soon for arriving so late. At the end of the following August they were ready for other voyagings, which brought them to the Kennebec the last of October; thereabout they continued till the fourth or fifth of November, when they directed their course toward

Pentagoët, on their way to winter quarters at Port Royal. At Pentagoët they met an assemblage of eighty canoes and a long-boat, with three hundred natives. Soon after, date not given, they arrived at Port Royal, where it is said the snow began to fall the twenty-sixth of November; and, what was worse, their provisions began to grow short. With impaired health and many difficulties arising under the management of the Sieur de Biencourt, the prospect before the Jesuit fathers was not a cheerful one. But with hope of succors from home they made what cheer they could. The third Sunday after Christmas Father Biard read the Gospel, where it says, "They have no wine," and making a pleasant application of the text to the listeners, prayed the Sieur de Biencourt to dispense a little of the little that remained, in the assurance that their succors would soon reach them. Father Biard's words proved prophetic; for just eight days afterward a ship arrived. This was the twenty-third of January, 1612.

No vessel ever brought fresh supplies to these adventurers that did not bring fresh occasion for distrust and disputes. But after disposing of their difficulties as best they could, the Fathers addressed themselves with great zeal to learning the language of the savages. Father Ennemond Masse, with a lively young man who acted as his companion and helper, departed into the woods with the savages, leading their life almost to the destruction of his own, and was long out of all communication with Father Biard. At length, however, he learned the secret of accommodating his

constitution to their ways, and finally returned, safe and sound, loaded with merits and good works.

Father Biard had attached himself more immediately to the explorations of Biencourt and his followers, but was still on the alert, by ingenious and hardy experiments, to cultivate intercourse with the people, whose conversion he had at heart. And so the year 1612 was wrought into labors unique in their kind, and passed in the endurance of privations and dangers peculiar to their own time and place in the history of untamed nature and savage men.

The Jesuits did not take stock in all of Biencourt's illusive expectations of supplies from France. So in the winter of 1613, while he was wondering where he should bestow all that he was going, by and by, to receive, they were prudently husbanding their own stores; and when he was aghast at the near prospect of famine, they were able to produce for the wants of the little colony fourteen barrels of good grain. Moreover, in the dead season, to the infinite amusement of their comrades sitting around the fire, our two priests set about making a boat (*une chalouppe*). They had for master workman their boy of all work, the rawest of apprentices; the lookers-on remarked that Father Masse knew how to do everything, as occasion required, was a good wood sawyer, a good calker, a good architect; but, said they, "Father Biard, what's he good for?" "As to that," said another, "don't you know, when the shallop is finished, he will give it his benediction?" By the middle of March the shallop was finished, and was a bless-

ing indeed, since no fishing or search for roots, acorns, or other edibles by land could be carried on without a boat; and Biencourt, who had been in possession of three good ones, was reduced to a wretched skiff for three persons at the most, so leaky that it could hardly be counted upon for three leagues in the sea without filling. The Fathers not only achieved the building of their boat, but they put it to its appropriate use in the interest of their company.

Thus the winter of 1613 wore away; and meanwhile the Jesuits were not forgotten by Madame de Guercheville and their other patrons in France. An outfit was provided for removing them from Port Royal to another place more suited to their mission. The chief of this outfit was Captain la Saussaye, who had with him thirty persons engaged to winter in Acadia, counting the two Jesuits and their servant, whom they were to take on board at Port Royal. He had, in addition, two other Jesuits, Father Quentin and Father Gilbert du Thet; but these two were to return to France, provided the two they were expected to find at Port Royal were not dead, as it was feared they might be. The whole outfit, counting the sailors, made up forty-eight persons. It was thought to be a well-manned and richly-provisioned expedition. It set sail from Honfleur, March 12, 1613.

May 16, 1613, is a very important date; it is the point from which we have to reckon the time of the critical events, which came in rapid succession directly afterward. This was the day of la Saussaye's landing at Cape la Have, on the side of Nova Scotia opposite

to Port Royal. It might have taken some days to sail round the peninsula to that place, but the date of reaching it is not set down.

At Port Royal there were found five persons, namely, the two Jesuits and their servant, the apothecary Hebert, and one other. The Sieur de Biencourt and the rest of his people were all far away, some in one direction, some in another. As Hebert held the place of Biencourt in his absence, the Queen's letters were presented to him, by which he was commanded to release the Jesuits and permit them to go wherever it might seem to them good. Thus the Jesuits took away their luggage in peace; and therefore for that day and the following they made good cheer for Hebert and his companion, in order that this arrival might not be too sad for them. At the departure also, although they were not in destitution, a barrel of bread was left them and some flagons of wine, so that the leave taking also was with good grace.

They were detained at Port Royal by contrary winds for five days, when with an encouraging breeze from the northeast they set sail, intending to reach the river Pentagoët, and a place called Kadesquit, which had been destined for their new abode, as having many and great advantages. Soon, however, the weather changed. They were wrapped in fog so thick that they could see as little by day as by night; they were tossed about for two days and two nights, in terror of rocks and breakers, veering now to this side and then to the other. In their affliction they made their prayers to God that he would deliver them

from their perils, and direct them to some good place for his glory.

Of his goodness, adds Father Biard, he heard us, for that very evening we began to see the stars. In the morning the vapors were dissipated, and we found ourselves to be before Mount Desert (*au devant des Monts deserts*), an island which the savages call Pemetic. The pilot steered for the eastern side of the island, where he brought us to a berth (*nous logea*) in a beautiful and ample port, and we returned our thanks, raising the cross and chanting our praises to God with the sacrifice of the holy mass. We called this place and port Saint Sauveur.

"The eastern shore of Mount Desert Isle" — this is Mr. Bancroft's topography, and it is perfectly correct up to a certain point. On the eastern shore was the first named Saint Sauveur, the Saint Sauveur of the landfall, the planting of the cross, and the celebration of the mass — ample warrant, no doubt, for the naming of a church or a hotel in our modern Bar Harbor. But there was another Saint Sauveur, the Saint Sauveur of the settlement, leagues away from the first, where alone the "rude intrenchments" and other details of Mr. Bancroft's picture, according to Father Biard, could have found place. This is what the Relation sets forth with great distinctness in the next chapter, the twenty-fourth, which is so definite and conclusive that I give it entire. The title of the chapter is important as showing that they carried on the name Saint Sauveur to the place chosen for their residence: —

THE OCCASION OF OUR DECIDING TO STAY AT SAINT SAUVEUR: THE EXCELLENCE OF THE PLACE.

Now in this port of Saint Sauveur a great dispute arose between the sailors and the rest of our company, or those others of

us who were passengers. The occasion of it was that the charter-party and agreement passed in France, setting forth that the said sailors should be holden to anchor in a port of Acadia which we should name to them, and there to remain during three months, — the said sailors contended that they had already arrived in a port of Acadia, and that consequently the said term of three months should be reckoned from this arrival. It was answered that this port was not the one that had been named to them, to wit, Kadesquit, and therefore the time could not be counted before we should be there. The pilot was firm in the contrary opinion, maintaining that a ship had never been to Kadesquit, and that he would not make himself a discoverer of new routes. Arguments on this side; arguments on that side. Nothing but pleadings at the bar — a bad augury for the future.

During these contests the savages made signal to us with a smoke. This means that some one is going to recognize them in case he wants anything of them; and so it was done. The pilot, as the occasion permitted, told them that the Fathers of Port Royal were in his ship. The savages replied that they would most gladly see those whom they had known two years ago at Pentagoët. It was Father Biard who went at once to find them, and to gain information of them touching the route to Kadesquit, intimating that he wished to take up his abode there. "But," said they, "if you are determined to make your residence in these regions, why not rather stay with us. We certainly have as large and as good a place as Kadesquit." And they began to recount the praises of their neighborhood, declaring it to be so healthy and agreeable that the savages in other quarters, when they fall sick, have themselves brought to this place, and get well. These encomiums did not move Father Biard very much, as he knew well enough that the savages were not lacking in what everybody has in abundance — value for their own commodities. But they were at no loss how to adjust their machinery for taking him along: "for," said they, "you must come, because Asticou, our sagamore, is sick unto death. If you do not come he will die without baptism, and will not go to heaven. You will be the cause of it; for he is heartily desirous to be bap-

tized." This reason so shrewdly set forth surprised Father Biard, and fully persuaded him to accompany them, especially as there were only three leagues to traverse, and the whole would involve no great loss of time, merely an afternoon. So he took his place in one of their canoes, with the Sieur de la Motte and Simon the interpreter, and on they sped.

Arrived at the cabins of Asticou, we found him sick, to be sure, but not unto death, for it was only a cold that was troubling him. The assurance of his strength, therefore, gave us ample leisure for going on a visit to this place, so highly extolled, and better than Kadesquit as a residence for the French; and, verily, we found that the savages were not without good reason for their high praises, for we ourselves were in wonder over it. So that, having carried the news to the principal men of our company, and they also having come to reconnoiter, all without dissent agreed that we should make our settlement there, and not seek for anything better, seeing that God even seemed to say the same by the pleasing occurrences that had met us, and by a certain miracle which he had wrought in the healing of an infant, of which we shall speak elsewhere.

This place is a pleasing slope, gently rising from the sea, and bathed on its two sides by two springs. The land is clear of trees to the extent of twenty or twenty-five acres, and covered with grass in some places almost to the height of a man. Its aspect is to the south and east, like that at the mouth of the Pentagoët [a possible reminiscence here of the lay of the land at the Castine peninsula], and looking to where several attractive brooks, abounding in fish, discharge themselves. The soil is dark, rich and fertile. The port and harbor are the finest that one could behold, and so situated as to command the whole coast; especially the harbor is secure as a lake, for besides its being inclosed (*separé*) by the great island of Mount Desert, it is also shut in by certain little islands, that break the force of the waves and winds and fortify its entrance. There is no fleet that it could not hold, nor ship of such draught as not to be able to approach within a cable's length of the shore for discharging her cargo. It is in latitude forty-four degrees and one-third, a situation less northerly than that of Bordeaux.

Having disembarked in this place, and here planted the cross, we set to work, and with the work began our wranglings (*contestations*), a second signal and portent of our evil destiny. The occasion of these wranglings was that our captain, la Saussaye, amused himself too much in cultivating the ground, while all the principal men pressed him not to divert the laborers to that object, but to direct them all without interruption to dwellings and fortifications. This he would not do. And from these contests arose others, till the English reduced us to harmony, as you will see.

Mr. Parkman, "Pioneers of France in the New World," page 277, remarks in a note: —

Biard says the place [described above] was only three leagues from Saint Savior, and that he could go and return in an afternoon. He adds that it was *séparé de la grande Isle des Monts Deserts*. He was evidently mistaken in this, Saint Savior being on the east side of Mount Desert; there is no place separated from it, and answering to his description, which he could have reached within the time mentioned. He no doubt crossed Mount Desert Sound, which, with Soames' Sound, nearly severs the island. There, about a mile from the open sea, on the farm of Mr. Fernald, is a spot perfectly answering to the minute description of Biard. . . . . I am indebted to E. L. Hamlin, Esquire, of Bangor, for pointing out this locality.

My impression is that when this note was made, the historian, whose eyes, alas, are now closed upon the scenes he did so much to illustrate, had not visited the localities in question; for the note, if I understand it, is inexact in several respects: — (1) It was not "the place" of settlement, but Asticou's camp, that was three leagues away from Saint Savior, a loose estimate, of course, suited to encourage the priest to visit the sick sagamore; and from Asticou's camp they went on to explore the place so

much praised for their settlement. (2) It was not "the place" thus chosen, according to Father Biard, which was "separated from the great island of Mount Desert," but the harbor, the unique haven for ships; this haven, with all the convenient ports it contained, was indeed separated from the great island, and set apart in the very heart of it by granite walls, when the decree was uttered, "Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear." Here is Father Biard's description verbatim: — *Le port et haure sont des plus beaux que l'on puisse voir, et en endroict propre à commander toute la coste; le haure specialement est asseuré comme un estang, car outre qu'il est séparé de la grande isle des Monts deserts, il l'est encore de certaines petites islettes qui rompent les flots et les vents, et fortifient son entrée.* (3) This is a cosmical situation, of large elements, about which, as I read him, Father Biard is as distinctly verifiable as with reference to the minute features of the very spot where they pitched their tents. Naturally, his course by canoe was the one of to-day from Bar Harbor in the direction of North East Harbor, and from Asticou's place, which might have been east of North East Harbor to Fernald's Point, where the two springs still bathe the two sides of the pleasing slope, and with the neighboring brooks on either side of the bay, identify beyond question the site of the Saint Sauveur settlement.

It seems the most natural thing in the world that, after the perils and discomforts of the voyage Captain la Saussaye should have found delight in the hospita-

ble wilderness, the bold mountains and ample harbor, the natural meadow with its lush grass to be made into hay for the horses and goats they had brought; or should have fancied, notwithstanding the advance of the season, that some vegetables might be grown for their winter consumption. No doubt he laughed good-naturedly at arguments from fear. Were not the natives friendly, and what had that obscure Jamestown colony, hardly born and so far away, to do with their peaceful adventure, when France and England were not at war? Especially how should he suppose that the English flag could cover, not merely colonial jealousy, but the craft and violence of the freebooter also?

But one fine morning his eyes were opened. His little navy was at anchor, the sails spread as awnings over the decks, his followers busy here and there in the ship or on the shore, their tents and huts getting ready to be dwelt in, and their abundant stores from France disposed, according to the situation, when in sailed Captain Samuel Argal, with a breeze exactly to his mind, swift as an arrow, with an abrupt message of death, devastation and dispersion, belched from the muzzles of fourteen cannon and sixty muskets. There was no defense. Father du Thet was wounded, died the next day, and was buried at the foot of the great cross; two young men of promise were drowned, having leaped from their boat to swim ashore, and their bodies were found nine days after; others were wounded, their vessels were seized, their stores pillaged, and their whole enterprise rendered as sim-

ply foreign and impracticable as if Pentogoët and Kadesquit and Mount Desert Isle had stood for regions beyond the western stars. Their anguish was unspeakable; they had not where to lay their heads; and the one preoccupation of forty-five plundered Frenchmen was to win from an enemy, of whom they expected nothing but death or servitude, some scanty furtherance to their forlorn hope of getting back to France. Happily Captain Argal showed a humanity superior to his own conduct and better than their fears. And so, through various adventures and in different groups, most of the unfortunate pioneers of Saint Sauveur lived to tell the story to their friends.

Exactly at what date the settlement at Saint Sauveur was begun, or how long, in the words of Mr. Bancroft, "matins and vespers were regularly chaunted" round the cross, on Fernald's Point, we cannot say. The dates which include this period of happy seclusion were May 16, 1613, already mentioned, when the ship from Honfleur landed at Cape la Have, and November 9, 1613, when Argal left Port Royal, with Father Biard among his passengers, after he had sailed from Saint Sauveur to Virginia, remained there for some time, and then sailed back again to complete, at his leisure, not only what was lacking to the devastation of Saint Sauveur, but also the utter destruction of Saint Croix and Port Royal, by way of vindicating English pretensions. Here, then, are nearly six months distributed, we may judge in what proportions, between the voyage from la Have to Port Royal, the getting away from that place, the voyage

to Mount Desert, and the preparations for settlement, the trial and development of their chosen situation, the period of invasion and pillage, the voyage to Virginia and detention at Jamestown, the return voyage to Saint Sauveur, Saint Croix and Port Royal, including the deliberate maturing and execution of plans in detail. The French might possibly have had weeks of tranquillity and hope at Saint Sauveur. Could they have had months? At any rate, looking back to that island sanctuary, that summer of 1613, that English conquest, the type of subsequent history, we may say of the Jesuit experience in New France, "Here endeth the first lesson." The next movement was by way of the Saint Lawrence and Quebec.

When we think how centuries drop into the æons of vaster history, and how all experience of even the remote past belongs to that prophetic ministration, without which even such fulness of life as we enjoy would not have come to us, a scene of peculiar activity and suffering becomes interesting to us much as we fancy it was interesting, or even is now interesting, to those whose story it commemorates. Hence it is with peculiar associations that I recall the ready and intelligent hospitality with which, on the second of August, 1893, an inquiring company, of which I was one, was received by Professor C. H. Fernald, of Amherst College, and by his son, Professor H. T. Fernald, of the State College, Center County, Pennsylvania, with their families, on this historic ground called by their name. They had exchanged their scientific preoccupations for a summer of more secure peace

and saving health than was found in the Saint Sauveur of two hundred and eighty years before; and as I recollect how they walked with us over Flying Mountain, pointed out the two springs, the gentle slopes with aspects southward and eastward, the islands at the harbor's entrance, breaking the winds and waves for a haven thought to be the third for majestic amplitude in all the world; I confess that I am no longer concerned to find out the archæological value of ancient cellars and millstones, interesting as they are. I leave them together with Williamson's five years of great zeal and untiring perseverance in "converting the natives to Christianity" to the peaceful limbo of popular tradition, content with our certitude as to the site of Saint Sauveur.

SKETCHES OF THE LIVES OF EARLY MAINE MINISTERS.

BY WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON.

Presented to the Maine Historical Society, with an Introduction by Joseph Williamson, December 10, 1891.

[CONTINUED.]

REVEREND JOSEPH MOODY.

Reverend Joseph Moody, Harvard College, 1718, was the first minister in the second parish of York, and the only son of Reverend Samuel Moody,[1] who was the second ordained pastor in that town. Joseph, his son, was born in 1700, and designed by the father to be a

[1] Originally "Moodey."

minister; but though he was early educated and early pious, he felt no particular predilection for the study of divinity. He was, at first, a school instructor, and as such, and in whatever he undertook, he acquitted himself with much ability. He had a versatility of talent which rendered him a man of great usefulness, if not of great ability. For several years he was town clerk of York and county-register of deeds, in both of which offices he left ample testimonial of his care, industry, and correctness. At the age of thirty, in 1731, he was commissioned one of the judges on the bench of the Common Pleas, a place he filled till he went into the ministry. About the time of his last appointment, a second parish was incorporated in the north western part of York, which, originally settled by Scotch people, has always been called Scotland. This measure converted into extreme anxiety his father's desire to have his son become a preacher of the gospel, and consent to settle in the new parish. He was a man of eminent piety, he had turned his attention for some time to theological reading, and the church in the new parish, founded in 1732 on Congregational principles, had warmly solicited his settlement; therefore, he resigned his judgeship and other civil offices, accepted the pastoral charge offered him, and, in 1732, was ordained. He was highly esteemed as a minister, but, being subject to lively absorbing sensibilities of heart, he was inclined to feel but too powerfully the weight and importance of the pastoral trust committed to him, and to permit his spirits to deteriorate into dejection. At length an occurrence

in former life ushering powerfully into recollection, seemed to curtain his soul. For in the former part of his life, it seems he accidently killed a youth for whom he had a great affection. To his disordered mind this presented a frightful image. In 1738, he ceased preaching, yet his people so loved him, and so compassionated his state of mind as to wait patiently for his recovery three years. But he became no better, but rather grew worse. He had been the cause of his young friend's death; it made his blood run cold; he hid his countenance, and as a token of his grief, he determined to wear a veil during the rest of his life. Accordingly, he wore, ever after, a silk handkerchief drawn over his face, and was called "Handkerchief Moody" till his death. A council, convened in August, 1741, dissolved the pastoral relation between him and his parish, and, six years after his father's death, he died, March 20, 1753, aged fifty-three, greatly beloved and esteemed. The inscription on his gravestone reads thus: "*Here lies the body of the Reverend Joseph Moody, pastor of the second church in York, an excelling instance of knowledge, integrity, learning, piety, virtue, and usefulness; uncommonly qualified and spirited to do good.*" As his mental derangement was so partial and peculiar, it may be interesting to add that he supposed the guilt of some unforgiven sin lay upon him, and that he was not only unworthy the sacred office of a gospel minister, but unfit for the company of other people. He chose to eat and sleep alone. His judgment, except what related to himself, was in no manner impared. He visited the sick,

frequently prayed with them, also in private families, and a few times in public, always with the greatest fervor, pertinency, and devotion. Still he asserted he was only the voice of others present on the occasion. A son of Reverend Joseph Moody, was Mr. Samuel Moody,[1] Preceptor of Dummer Academy, usually called "Master Moody," who survived his father forty-two years.

REVEREND JOHN TUCHE.

Reverend John Tuche,[2] Harvard College, 1723, commenced his ministerial labors on the Isles of Shoals, about the year 1730, and on the thirteenth of July, 1732, was ordained the first and only settled minister of the gospel among that people. Of the ministers who assisted at the ordination one was the Reverend Samuel Moody, of York, in whose discourse was this expression, "Good Lord, thou hast founded a church here, upon a rock; may the gates of hell never prevail against it." Before the close of the preceeding century, the people "erected a new meeting-house on Star Island, (Gosport), twenty-eight by forty-eight feet, with a bell" and being "unanimous" in the call and settlement of Mr. Tuche, offered him a very generous support. For they voted him a salary of £110 in money or bills of credit, and £50 towards building him a house;[3] also a site for it on the hill near the meeting-house, and a parsonage lot, engaging to make good his salary should the

[1] 2 Alden's Epitaphs, No. 344.

[2] Pronounced "Tooke."

[3] About 1780, the house was taken down by Mr. Tuche's son-in-law and carried to York.

value of money depreciate, and to allow him to keep a cow on the island; and finally making it penal in the sum of £40 to be paid by every man who will not, when able, assist Mr. Tuche in the fall of the year when he "has his wood to carry home."

During the ministry of Mr. Tuche, which was continued upwards of forty years, those islanders appear to have enjoyed the zenith of their prosperity. They were industrious, prudent, temperate, and regular in their attendance on the institutions of religion, and to their minister they were respectful, kind and generous. Nor was he unworthy of their love and liberality; for he was not only given to hospitality, and apt to teach, but, in imitation of his Divine Master, he went about doing good among all class of his charge, acting in the double capacity of physician of body and of soul. He was a man of affable and amiable disposition, of easy and polite manners, of humble, unaffected piety, and of diligence and fidelity in the service of his ministry. He saw the fruits of his labors; being a remarkably good, practical divine. In history and geography he was eminently learned beyond most of his cotemporaries, and under his nurturing, pastoral care, his people increased in numbers and wealth, in knowledge, piety, and respectability. This good man died August 12, 1773, deeply and unusually lamented, death having bereaved him of his amiable and beloved wife, only two months previously.[1]

[1]Rev'd Mr. Tuche had a son, Rev. John Tuche, settled in Epsom, N. H., 1761 dismissed 1774, Harvard College 1758. 3 Series 2 Me. Hist. Coll. 1, 322.

BIRTHS FROM HALLOWELL RECORDS.

COMMUNICATED BY DR. W. B. LAPHAM.

[CONTINUED.]

Gershom Cocks, son of James and Nancy Cocks, married Sally, daughter of Obed and Mary Hussey of Hallowell, Dec. 11, 1794. Their children are:—

Mary Anne, b. Sept. 15, 1795; d. 1860.
Margaretta, b. Aug. 29, 1797.
Julia Anne, b. Sept. 22, 1799; d. Apr. 1865.
Comfort Smith, b. Sept. 22, 1801.
Arthur, b. Nov. 5, 1803; d. Aug. 19, 1868.
William Henry, b. Jan. 1, 1806; d. in California, 1849.
Eliza Anne, b. Oct. 29, 1808.
Delia Anne, b. Apr. 20, 1810; d. ——.
James Valentine, b. July 1, 1813.
Hester Anne, b. Aug. 9, 1815.
Gershom Leander, b. Nov. 28, 1817; d. Oct. 1867.

Mr. Gerhom Cox died April 12, 1849. Mrs. Sally Cox died Aug. 21, 1850.

Charles Cocks, son of James and Nancy Cocks of Hallowell, married Martha, daughter of Andrew and Hannah Goodwin of Hallowell, Feb. 19, 1794. Their children are:—

William Barron, b. Dec. 19, 1794; d. at New Orleans July 5, 1817.
James Goodwin, b. May 31, 1797.
Melville Babridge and Gershon Flagg, b. Nov. 7, 1799.
Hannah Martha, b. Aug. 19, 1806.
Emily Melville, b. Sept. 23, 1803.
Martha Jane, b. Nov. 4, 1808.

Philip Davenport, son of Jonathan and Susanna Davenport, married Anna, daughter of ———, of Stoughton, Mass. Their children are:—

Jotham, b. Aug. 5, 1786; d. Aug. 23, 1787.
Anna, b. Dec. 13, 1787.
Charity Prince, b. Sept 17, 1800.
John M., b. Feb. 14, 1803.
Grizzel M., b. Jan. 23, 1805.

Daniel M., b. July 28, 1807.
Elmira Spinney, b. Feb. 25, 1810.
Sophia Spinney, b. Nov. 24, 1812.
Betsey Sewall, b. May 26, 1815.
Mr. Philip Davenport died Mar. 29, 1820.

Thomas Davenport, son of Jonathan and Susanna Davenport, married Lydia, daughter of John and Elizabeth Bradbury of York, County of York. Their children are:—

Nathaniel, b. Feb. 29, 1792.
Susanna, b. Oct. 31, 1793.
Lydia, b. Mar. 31, 1796.
Stephen, b. Dec. 31, 1787.
Elizabeth, b. Jan. 2, 1800.
Philenia, b. Mar. 13, 1802.
Wealthy, b. Nov. 28, 1804.
Benjamin, b. July 30, 1808.

Abraham Davenport, son of Jonathan and Susanna Davenport, married Elizabeth, daughter of Henry and Mary Sewall of Bath, who was born Jan. 11, 1775. Their children are:—

Gorham, b. May 25, 1797.
Calvin, b. Jan. 28, 1799; d. May 27, 1821.
Charles Sewall, b. Apr. 14, 1800.
Charlotte, b. Apr. 30, 1802; d. Aug. 18, 1803.
Jane Mary, b. Dec. 15, 1810.
Otis Crosby, b. July 14, 1814; d. July 27, 1814.

Lemuel Davenport, son of Jonathan and Susanna Davenport, married Rebecca Reynolds of ———. Their children are:—

Maria, b. Nov. 24, 1798.
Olive, b. Aug. 23, 1800.
Jonathan, b. Nov. 15, 1802.
Lemuel, b. Nov. 7, 1806.

Mr. Lemuel Davenport died April 8, 1806. Seven months before the birth of his son.

Jonathan Davenport, son of Jonathan and Susanna Davenport, married Joanna, daughter of John and Elizabeth Bradbury of York, County of York, who was born Nov. 6, 1768, Feb. 9, 1801. Their children are:—

Dorothy, b. May 16, 1802.

William and David, b. June 8, 1803.
Abigail, b. Jan. 31, 1805.
Henry, b. Jan. 28, 1806.
Alfred, b. Sept. 22, 1807.

Mrs. Joanna Davenport died May 1, 1838.

Mary Davenport, daughter of Jonathan and Susanna Davenport, was married to Nathaniel Shaw, Nov. 2, 1786. Their children are :—

Mary, b. Sept. 22, 1789.
Abigail, b. Aug. 23, 1787; d. May 10, 1791.
Nathaniel, b. Jan. 28, 1792.
John, b. Oct. 26, 1793; d. ——.
Elizabeth, b. Mar. 28, 1798.

Mr. Nathaniel Shaw died March 27, 1801. Jan. 31, 1803, his widow, Mrs. Mary Shaw married James Sunderland, by whom she had one child viz :—

James Sunderland, b. Jan. 2, 1804.

Mr. Sunderland died Oct. 10, 1804.

Asa Blanchard, son of John and Betsey Blanchard was born in Weymouth, Jan. 25, 1769, married Lydia, daughter of Benjamin and —— White of Hallowell, Dec. 1792. Came with his family to Hallowell, Nov. 4, 1802. Their children are :—

Betsey, b. Nov. 2, 1795, in Pittston.
Samuel, b. Nov. 17, 1799, in Pittston.
Asa, b. May 3, 1802, in Pittston.
John, b. Aug. 6, 1805; in Hallowell.
Mary Anne, b. Dec. 1, 1807.

Aaron Humphries, son of John and Mary Humphries was born in Gray, District of Maine, Feb. 28, 1772, married Shuah, daughter of Asa Libbey of said Gray, Nov. 20, 1793. Came to Hallowell, with his family, Nov. 1803, and officiated as a Methodist preacher in that part of the town called Bowman's Point. Their children are :—

Nabby, b. July 19, 1795, in Gray.
Cyrus, b. Oct. 12, 1797, in Readfield.
Mary, b. Jan. 21, 1802, in Bristol.
Aaron, b. July 17, 1804, in Hallowell.

Joanna, b. May 10, 1806.
Hiram, b. Aug. 9, 1808.
Reuben, b. Aug. 25, 1810.

Ariel Mann, born at Wrentham, Mass., May 14, 1777, six generations in a lineal descent from William Mann, who was born in the County of Kent, in England, in the year 1607, and emigrated from thence and settled in Cambridge, Mass. About the 30th year of his age, married Mary Jarred who also came from England. Samuel his only child was born in 1647, and was the first settled minister in the town of Wrentham, from whom the numerous race of Manns descended. His fourth son Theodore was the father of Thomas who was the father of Ariel, who was the father of the Ariel first mentioned who came to Hallowell, as a physician and surgeon in 1802. Sept. 3, 1810, married Phebe B., daughter of William and Tryphena Morse of Hallowell. Their children are :—

Elizabeth Bodwell Morse, b. June 28, 1811.
A son, b. May 7, 1813; d. same day.
William Theodore, b. Aug. 11, 1814.
Ariel Warren, b. Dec. 13, 1816.
Henry Edward, b. May 10, 1819.
Thomas Charles, b. Feb. 10, 1823.

PLAN FOR THE FORMATION OF COUNTY SOCIETIES.

BY JAMES P. BAXTER, PRESIDENT OF THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

At the annual meeting held at Brunswick in June, 1892, I presented a brief outline of a plan for the formation of county societies in the state, to act in harmony with the Maine Historical Society, and I was appointed a special committee to draw up a plan in

accordance with my suggestions, to be presented at the next annual meeting. At that meeting, held June 21, 1893, I presented a report which covered the following points: —

1st. The formation in each county of the state of a historical society, which society should extend its membership as widely as possible in the county where it resides.

2d. That such a number of members of each society, so formed, as may be thought convenient, shall represent such society in the Maine Historical Society, and these representatives shall be elected by the Maine Historical Society as associate members, or to fill vacancies in its membership when such vacancies exist.

3d. Copies of all papers by members of county societies shall be placed in the Archives of the Maine Historical Society, and the Publishing Committee of this Society may select from such papers those which they deem of immediate interest to the Society, which papers shall be read to the Society, either by the writer, or, if the author prefers, by some person designated by him or the president of the Society, at one of its monthly or other meetings, and, after reading, such papers shall be eligible to publication by such Publishing Committee. The titles of the papers not read shall be printed with the names of the authors by said Committee annually in its regular publication.

4th. At the annual field day of the Maine Historical Society, all the members of the county societies and all local historical societies in the state, which may be connected with said county societies, shall be invited, and it shall be their privilege to be present and to participate in the exercises of the occasion; in fact, it shall be the object of the Maine Historical Society to unite together in the common pursuit of gathering and preserving facts relating to the history of every part of the state, all the local societies which may have already been, or may hereafter be formed in this state, and to attach them to itself for the purpose of possessing permanently, and making available to students everywhere, the facts so gathered and preserved.

There are already formed in this state the following societies, which it would be desirable to have cooperate with this Society in the important work proposed; namely, the Pejepscot Historical Society, which may represent Androscoggin; the Kennebec Antiquarian Society, which represents Kennebec; the Bangor Historical Society, which may well represent Penobscot; the Sagadahoc Historical Society, which represents Sagadahoc, and the York Institute, which may represent York County. This leaves Aroostook, Cumberland, Franklin, Hancock, Knox, Lincoln, Oxford, Piscataquis, Somerset, Waldo and Washington Counties, in which no societies have been formed. Everyone will at once recognize the great importance of forming societies in these counties for the purpose of preserving their local history. The Maine Historical Society, desirous of encouraging this beneficial work, hereby extend a hearty invitation to the societies already formed in Androscoggin, Kennebec, Penobscot, Sagadahoc and York Counties to connect themselves fraternally with this Society on the lines adopted by this Society, and herein outlined. In order to encourage the formation of societies in those counties which have no historical societies, the Standing Committee of the Maine Historical Society have, in accordance with the vote at the annual meeting, appointed the following committees, whose duty it shall be to form societies in their respective counties, and report at the next annual meeting at Brunswick: —

For Aroostook, Llewellyn Powers, M. M. Clark, Houlton; Cumberland, Nathan Goold, Edwin S. Drake, Portland; Frank-

lin, S. C. Belcher, Rev. Hugh Elder, Farmington; Hancock, L. A. Emery, J. F. Knowlton, Ellsworth; Knox, Gen. J. P. Cilley, R. H. Burnham, Rockland; Lincoln, J. M. Glidden; Newcastle, A. J. Phelps, Damariscotta; Oxford, John S. Barrows, A. F. Lewis, Fryeburg; Piscataquis, John F. Sprague, E. T. Hescock; Somerset, D. W. Hall, George S. Webb, Skowhegan; Waldo, L. H. Murch, Rev. George A. Tufts, Belfast; Washington, L. G. Downes, George M. Hanson, Calais.

To confer with societies already established, with a view to establishing fraternal relations with the Maine Historical Society, the following persons are appointed: —

A. G. Tenney, Esq., Pejepscot Historical Society; Edward P. Burnham, York Institute; Joseph W. Porter, Bangor Historical Society; W. Scott Hill, M.D., Kennebec Antiquarian Society; J. L. Douglas, Sagadahoc Historical Society.

Christopher Levett of York, the Pioneer Colonist in Casco Bay. By James Phinney Baxter, A. M., author of George Cleeve, of Casco Bay; The British Invasion from the North; Sir Ferdinando Gorges and His Province of Maine, etc., etc. Printed for the Gorges Society, Portland, Me., 1893.

This is the fifth volume of the Gorges Society's publications, and is of peculiar significance to those who are interested in the earliest history of New England, especially with reference to the exploration of that portion of Maine which was most accessible to New England enterprise. Not only that part of Maine which for a considerable period was reckoned as belonging to Acadia, but the part west of the Kennebec as well had a history of its own — a history with

definite marks of distinction from that of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. In a word, Gorges and the adventurers whom he may be taken to represent did not share in the theocratic proclivities of the Pilgrim and Puritan immigrants. On the contrary, they stood for the union of church and state, and held their Christian faith as the sanction of their imperial aims. In this respect their point of view was quite similar to that of their French competitors.

Christopher Levett was not only a patriotic and adventurous Englishman of the middle class, he was also a loyal son of the Anglican church, and a worthy son-in-law of the Reverend Robert More, whose singularly explicit and detailed will is quite as scrupulously occupied about the testator's churchmanship as about his worldly estate, and is an important appendix to the Levett story.

Mr. Baxter's keen scent for an original document, together with his resolute pursuit of evidence, regardless of pains or expense, has enabled him to discover and connect such proofs of Levett's personality and career as furnish a highly suggestive picture of ruling orders and ruling personages of his day in England. We have the very essence of history in the life of a man whose relations were all regulated according to the law and order of the realm. Levett was a persistent suitor — ambitious of place and employment, but a suitor to personages in place, and for employment in a line of service conceived as essential to the royal dignity and the public welfare — the personal always subordinated, in his theory, to the general outlook.

The volume has two chief parts, the Memoirs of Christopher Levett, and Christopher Levett's book, "A Voyage into New England begun in 1623 and ended in 1624;" printed in 1628. The Memoir, as already intimated, includes characteristic original documents from Levett himself, and these as well as the relation of his "Voyage," are much indebted, so far as our understanding of them is concerned, to Mr. Baxter's opportune and accurate annotations. There are other illustrations also, and an ample index. The documents in the Memoir are significant from their very conventionality; their studied accommodation of a self-respect not to be disguised, to a politic deference to rank or place, and even to a certain venal habit of the period. The writer is critically aware of what it will not be safe for him to ignore, however reluctant in a way to deal with it, if he is to hope that his suit will prosper. But in the book, "A Voyage into New England," Levett is on his own ground. He writes, not as a man seeking a place for himself, but rather as one whose bold investigations have enabled him to see openings for national enlargement and individual success, wherein the interest of one is the interest of all. Here, then, is a new man in a new world; exploring our rivers and coasts, he is more American than English, in fact, one of ourselves, locating his claim and building his house on this territory of our inheritance. No wonder Mr. Baxter would like Fore River to take again the name which Levett bestowed upon it as his own mark and memorial.

E. C. C.

OLD PEPPERELL MANSION, KITTERY POINT.

HISTORIC HOMES OF KITTERY.

By Moses A. Safford.

Read Before the Maine Historical Society, Dec. 7, 1893.

The early homes of Kittery were homes of adventurers, men who sought new avenues for the extension of mercantile business already established, and those who desired to launch new enterprises in a country offering greater facilities for the profitable investment of capital in the New World.

Along with this class, commanding capital and the prestige of royal favor, came the mechanics, fishermen and seamen. Some of the two former classes left established business and homes in Old England to plant new ones in the New, which during the middle of the seventeenth century was made so attractive by the glowing reports of those who received grants under the Royal Seal and had returned for new favors and to recruit their forces.

All of these classes of men contributed to the early prosperity of Western Maine and many founded homes within the original limits of this ancient town. One of the first class mentioned, who settled in Kittery, was Captain Francis Champernowne, whose father, Arthur, was the grantee of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, of two tracts of land containing five hundred acres; one on the northeast, the other on the southwest side of Brave-boat Harbor.

The latter tract embraced an island which for many years bore his name and until it came into the possession of Timothy Gerrish in 1718, by the will of Robert Elliot.[1] Since that date the western portion has been known as Gerrish Island, and that part bordering on Brave-boat Harbor, separated from the former by a tract of marsh land, as Cutts' Island.

Upon the last named island, now occupied by Mr. John Thaxter and called "Champernowne Farm," Captain Champernowne erected his "Upper house," probably in 1637. There is no record descriptive of it, but tradition says it was built of logs, one and a half stories high, about thirty-five feet long and twenty-five feet wide, with a chimney in one end.

Like many houses of the pioneers standing at remote points from the body of the settlement, it was constructed for garrison purposes, and was probably similar to the house of Robert Cutts, at present known as the "Whipple" or "Garrison House," opposite the navy yard. It was finished in the style common to the people of means of those times, with wainscoting, and was superior to any other in the vicinity at that date.

It was situated at a point commanding a full view of the ocean for thirty miles, and at the terminus of the way extending east from the main land. The farm was divided into several tracts of field and pasture, fenced with heavy high stone walls, and although the surface was uneven and containing many outcropping

[1] Maine Wills, page 255.

ledges, the soil in the valleys was rich and productive. A heavy growth of oak and walnut skirted it on the east, along Brave-boat Harbor, while on the west there was an abundance of oaks and pines. A ramble through this grove on the borders of the harbor was always a cherished pastime for many of the inhabitants of the town who were tacit trespassers with bag and gun in the season when walnuts were ripe and game plenty, even down to a late period. No more delightful ramble could be found in the sunny days of autumn than through the walnut groves of this estate.

In 1700 Richard Cutts, son of Robert, and son-in-law of Captain Champernowne, came into possession of this estate by conveyance from his mother (the widow of Champernowne) and his sister Elizabeth Witherick.[1] He soon after erected a house connecting it with that of his father-in-law on the east. About 1790 both houses were burned. The fire was set by an insane indigent relative who was depending upon Mr. Cutts for support.

Another house was erected by Richard, the grandson of the first Cutts proprietor, and father of the last proprietor in this line. He was known as Robert Cutts jr., and served as special justice of the court of common pleas, 1747–61.

It was erected upon the same foundations as the first, and stood until 1880, when it was taken down by Mr. Thaxter. The dimensions were thirty-two by forty-two feet on the ground, two stories high with a

[1] York Deeds, Book vi, folio 81.

chimney in the center. It had a porch on the south side at front entrance, facing the ocean, and had three principal rooms on the first floor consisting of a large parlor occupying the east half, the western half being divided between a sitting-room and kitchen. The two first named were finished in wainscoting, in the style of the first house, after which it was presumably modeled. Its position made it a prominent object by which mariners in approaching the coast in misty weather determined their position. It remained unpainted for half a century before its demolition, which was probably its previous condition.

As Champernowne established his residence in what is now Greenland, New Hampshire, about 1639, where he purchased in his own right a tract of land and erected buildings, this house upon his father's land was occupied by a tenant or agent until 1657. At that time he sold his land and buildings in New Hampshire and changed his residence to Kittery. Whether he went immediately to his island or "upper house" to reside or not is not certain, but it seems probable that he soon after occupied his "lower house" — frequently referred to as such. It was superior in some respects to the other, and his social advantages here were much greater. Here was a wharf and large warehouse where the business of the time could be successfully carried on. The former remains in part, while the latter, although not standing, is remembered by persons now living. It is probable that this lower house was built in anticipation of his removal to Kit-

tery, where business was active and attracting hither merchants and shipbuilders at that date.

It was about this time that John Bray, the shipwright, and others came here from Plymouth, England, and established ship-building at Kittery Point. This house stood near the present residence of Mr. Theodore Keen, and was taken down by Captain Thomas M. Weeks, who purchased the place in about 1847.

It was about thirty by forty feet on the ground, two stories in front and one on the rear or north side, where there was a porch. It had one chimney and interiorly was principally finished in wood, and in modern days was painted. It was delightfully situated near the mouth of Champernowne (now known as Chauncey's) Creek at its junction with the outlet of "Dearing's Guzzle," commanding a full view of the harbor, Newcastle, and the mouth of the Piscataqua to the southwest. It was conveyed by Champernowne to Captain Walter Barefoot November 16, 1665, and in that conveyance is mentioned as his "lower house."[1] It subsequently became the residence of Charles Chauncey, Esquire, who married the daughter of Major Richard Cutts in 1756. It was also the home of Colonel Paul Lewis within the memory of people now living. After the date of the above named conveyance Champernowne resided at his "upper house" until the date of his death, 1687.

The following lines expressive of his lineage and grave in this quiet retreat in New England are from the pen of the late John Elwyn, Esquire, who made

[1] York Deeds, Book 1, folios 77-82.

an annual pilgrimage to his grave on foot as long as he was able to walk: —

> Thomas De Cambernon for Hastings field
> Left Normandy: his Tower sees him no more!
> And no Crusader's Warhorse plumed and steeled
> Paws the grass now at Modbury's blazoned door:
> No lettered marble nor ancestral shield —
> Where the Atlantic shakes the lonesome shore
> Lies our forgotten, — only Cobblestones
> To tell us Where are Champernowne's poor Bones.

The next house in order perhaps would be that of John Bray, the father of the elder Pepperrell's wife, but as some further research is necessary to determine whether the one claimed for it now standing was his residence it will be considered later.

The site of the house of Honorable William Pepperrell being the same as that of his son, the baronet, which is well known, need not be particularly described. It was at the mercantile business center of Kittery Point in Colonial days and it has so continued to be to the present time. It was immediately in the rear of the shipyard of Bray, and comprised an acre of land deeded to Pepperrell by Bray November 14, 1682,[1] for the purpose of erecting a dwelling house thereon. The house, erected by the elder Pepperrell, was two stories, nearly square, being thirty-four by forty-five feet on the ground floor with a sharp roof, having two chimneys.

This was the home of the father and son until the death of the former in 1734, immediately after

[1] York Deeds, Book iii, folio 121.

which the son succeeded to his father's estate, assumed the trade of the late firm of "William Pepperrell and Son," and enlarged the house of his father by adding fifteen feet to each end, making it seventy-five feet long, retaining the former width, changing the roof from a sharp to a curb-roof, placing Luthern windows in the south side, adding two chimneys, thoroughly renovating the house throughout and finishing it in a style becoming the degree of its occupant. The "hall" on the left of the main entrance and chamber above it were elaborately finished, and in the days of the baronet were hung with family portraits and those of his contemporaries and official associates.

The sitting-room and chamber above it on the right was little less attractive in finish and decorations. Adjacent to the former was a library patronized by the Reverend Doctor Benjamin Stevens, whose aid in its selection was the natural service of a respected pastor and intimate friend. The entrance hall was spacious but plain in finish. The stairway was broad and easy of ascent, being decorated with carved balustrades. A paved walk of cobble-stones extended around the house and led to the barge landing directly in front, at the lower end of which were large dressed stone steps, some of which are in view at the present day. Cotemporaneous with these improvements were the construction of the wharf, four stores and the family tomb, the tablet for which was prepared in London. He inclosed a park on the west of the way leading to the wharf with a wall six feet high, which was surmounted with a picket board fence of the same height on the shore side,

and a wall of corresponding height on the other sides, in which were kept moose, deer, and a variety of game. His land on the harbor front was extended from the east line of the mansion lot to the way now leading to the Hotel Champernowne.

The tomb was built in the front center of the "Great Orchard" which was regularly planted with apple and pear trees, a sufficient number of which are still standing to indicate their regular arrangement. Around this abode of Colonial grandeur must ever linger the most lively traditions of royalty in the New World to which its proprietor contributed so largely.

As an official of importance and a merchant of wealth Pepperrell, the baronet, established a home the rival of his contemporaries and which must ever lend an historical interest to his adopted town. Under the confiscation act of 1778 the mansion house was sold by auction to Captain Samuel Smallcorn with the wharf and lands immediately joining the homestead. In about 1790 it was bought by Major Thomas D. Cutts who opened the house as a tavern and carried on the fishing business. Major Cutts set out the elm trees whose majestic presence has served so long to decorate the grounds and lend an air of grandeur to the place, many of which are now standing.

In a few years his business proved unsuccessful and through a mortgage became the property of Richard Cutts (the last proprietor of Cutts' Island of that name) who carried on the fishing business and foreign trade for many years, "but trusting too much to other people's honesty," it is said, he suffered losses and was

obliged to retire to his farm on the island where he died in 1853, aged eighty-eight years. From Cutts it passed to Meader and Frisbee, from them to Bellamy and Hoyt who divided the lot. Honorable Charles G. Bellamy retaining the house and western portion of the lot. He is at present the occupant. During the past century it has been the home for brief periods of numerous families of the town many of whose people of the generation last passed away were born within its walls.

In 1848 Mr. Bellamy reduced the house to its present dimensions by removing twelve feet from the east end, and thirteen feet from the west end, with the small porch. Two of the four chimneys were taken down. The "hall" on the left of main entrance, the room on the right, the chamber over it and the entrance hall remain as Sir William left them. The Luthern windows were removed many years ago, doubtless to prevent leaking. No person now living remembers to have seen them.

The next house in order of construction in this family was that known as the "Sparhawk house," erected about 1742. This house is still standing and is in the possession of Mrs. Jane M. Brown, an English lady, whose husband made extensive repairs upon it twenty years ago, and restored the east room which had been for many years divided into several smaller ones, to its original size and finish. It is sixty feet long, thirty-four feet wide, and two stories high, with a curb-roof which contains Luthern windows. The present cupola is a modern addition by the present

occupant. With the exception of the addition on the rear at the west end, to replace a former one, this house is as Colonel Sparhawk left it; even the same paper remains on the hall and sitting-room on the left, that was placed there by the original occupants. It is the old English landscape design in figure and is wonderfully well preserved. The hall stairs with its carved balustrades are preserved intact. The same lights over the front door of the bull's-eye pattern, originally placed there, which reflected the light upon Colonel Sparhawk and his distinguished bride, have shed its mellow rays upon numerous occupants since then who have entered and departed beneath their unconscious gaze. The interior of this house exhibits a wealth of finish, the wainscoting being paneled to the ceiling. Some of the panels are enormous. That over the fireplace in the east room is of an entire piece being three feet wide and nearly seven in length. The fireplaces are adorned with tiles decorated by historic scenes, the closets neatly carved in imitation of sea shells. It contained at one time many valuable portraits of colonial celebrities some of which have found their way to public galleries, others have been scattered among remote relatives in various parts of the country. The house at present contains no furniture or decorations, independently of its walls, that belonged to its original proprietors. The site of this house is very beautiful, being in the center of a fine tract of about twenty acres of land near the junction of Spruce and Barter's Creeks. It was approached from the street near the village church

through an avenue of noble trees over a finely graded driveway, and a century ago, more nearly approached an ideal English country seat than any other in the town. It is doubtful if it was surpassed by any in New England in this respect. Besides ornamental trees the grounds contained a great variety of fruit trees with all the variety of nut trees that grew in this climate which have gradually diminished until but few remain.

There was a fine summer house east of the dwelling standing about midway between it and the creek as late as fifty years ago. Whatever other structures of like character there might have been on the west side must have made way for the fishing business which was carried on there for many years, and as late as 1850. There were doubtless in the early years boathouses and landings here on the creek which have been renewed within the past twenty years by modern proprietors. It is finely adapted to aquatic sports, which has been appreciated by more modern proprietors who have resided there since the beginning of the present century.

Among those who have principally occupied it during this period may be named Robert G. Safford, Roger Dearing, Andrew J. Penhallow, and Walter R. Brown, the widow of the last named gentleman, being still in possession.

Captain Mowat of the British ship Canceau made a private visit in October, 1775, when his fleet was off the harbor, at this loyal house, where he was received with great consideration, and tradition says, was so

much fascinated with Colonel Sparhawk's daughter Mary, that the intent of his voyage, to destroy Portsmouth, was changed by her influence, and that he made sail for Falmouth (now Portland) which he burned.[1]

Whatever may have been his intentions respecting Portsmouth, we now know that the burning of Falmouth was rather the result of private spleen, induced by a local incident, than by any orders of the British Admiralty.

We cannot, however, disclaim the power that Miss Sparhawk possessed through her beauty, to avert so dire a calamity as might have been threatened, for the record is in favor of both beauty and accomplishments. She subsequently became the wife of Doctor Jarvis of Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

The house erected for Andrew, the son of the baronet, in contemplation of his marriage with the daughter of General Waldo, was probably the most perfect in its appointments and elaborate in its finish of any of the houses of this wealthy family.

It was erected about 1747–48 and cost $10,000. A special lot was purchased for its site, which was a fine one about a furlong west of the paternal mansion, on ground more elevated and directly fronting the entrance to the harbor. It stood on the north side of the road on the site now occupied, in part, by the heirs of the late Joseph Chambers. The lot was graded to the street and extended to "Pepperrell's Cove" on the south. Exteriorly it had the same appearance as the "Sparhawk mansion," being of the same dimen-

[1] Brewster's Rambles, Volume 2, page 187.

sions. The finish of this house was imported and the mechanics for its construction were brought from England for that purpose. As Andrew did not marry Miss Waldo he probably never occupied the house. He died November 1, 1751. During the Revolution the house was occupied by soldiers who entertained a hatred for all loyal subjects of the crown and used every means to destroy it. They cut the posts in such a manner that after a severe tempest in summer it fell, and became an utter ruin. The land on which it stood was confiscated in 1778 with other property of the baronet and sold by commissioners appointed for that purpose soon after.

Even its site awakens a melancholy interest from the fact that Andrew was the son to whom Pepperrell looked with pride as the sole representative of the family name, and whose engagement to Miss Waldo, daughter of his personal friend, greatly increased the hope and pride of the father in the son's future influence and prosperity.

The abrupt and mortifying termination of the engagement of this pair, coupled with the sudden and premature death of the son soon after, cast a deep shadow upon the latter years of the baronet's life. Added to this affliction the financial ruin of his son-in-law, Colonel Sparhawk, in 1758, and his own misfortunes of a like character, his physical infirmities did not permit him to survive the following year.

The house erected by Lady Pepperrell after the death of her husband stands near the village church, very near where Kittery Point touches Spruce Creek

and the Piscataqua, and near that of her daughter, Sparhawk. The site is a commanding one, and the place, even at this day, shorn of many of its surrounding embellishments, arrests the attention of the passer. It was probably erected near 1765, under the supervision of her son-in-law, Colonel Nathaniel Sparhawk. It is thirty-eight by fifty feet on the ground, two stories, with a hip roof. It faces east, and was directly in front of the church before its removal.

Being the latest built of the houses of this family its exterior and interior represent a more modern style of workmanship. Although despoiled of some of its ornamentation it remains to-day substantially as it was a century ago. Through personal influence of her friends, Lady Pepperrell saved from the operation of the confiscation act much that was of great importance to her of her husband's estate. She survived her husband thirty years and died in this house in 1789. Since her decease it has passed through several hands, being the residence of Joseph Cutts for many years and until his death, July 3, 1861.

It was occupied by his daughter Sarah C., until her death in 1874. Afterwards it came into possession of Oliver Cutts who died in 1889 and by him was conveyed to his grandson Joseph C. Cutts, who is also a grandson of Richard, the brother of Joseph, who died in 1861. It is now owned by Joseph C. Cutts the only male descendant of the family residing in Kittery.

The "Garrison" or "Whipple House," so well known to every visitor to Kittery, now occupied by Mr. H. J. Philbrick, stands on the "Crooked lane"

branch of the Piscataqua, directly in the rear of the Marine barracks on the United States Navy yard, and is famous for being the birthplace of General William Whipple, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. By whom it was built is not certain. It may have been built by the hamlet in the neighborhood for purposes of defense against the Indians, but there is little doubt that a building so well finished and of such proportions must have been built principally by some person of means, and the one most likely to have been the leader in such an enterprise was Robert Cutts senior, who located here as a shipbuilder in about 1652, on the very point of land where this house was built.

It was two stories in height, forty-five feet long and thirty-five feet wide. The upper story projected a foot and a half beyond the lower, had small windows, and was well adapted to the purposes intended. The interior was well finished for houses of that time, as the rooms remaining in their original condition still attest. Mr. Cutts at this place carried on shipbuilding for several years and died there in 1674, leaving an estate valued at eight hundred and ninety pounds, including eight negroes, which, considering the times, indicates that he was successful in his business. Robert Cutts second, came into possession of this house and by his will devised it to his sister Mary, wife of Captain William Whipple, the father of General William Whipple, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, who was born there.[1]

Captain Whipple about 1740 made improvements in

[1] Maine Wills, page 360.

the house generally, adding to the east end. In 1845 the father of the present proprietor made great changes, removing most of the western half so that its present length represents the width of the house as he found it.

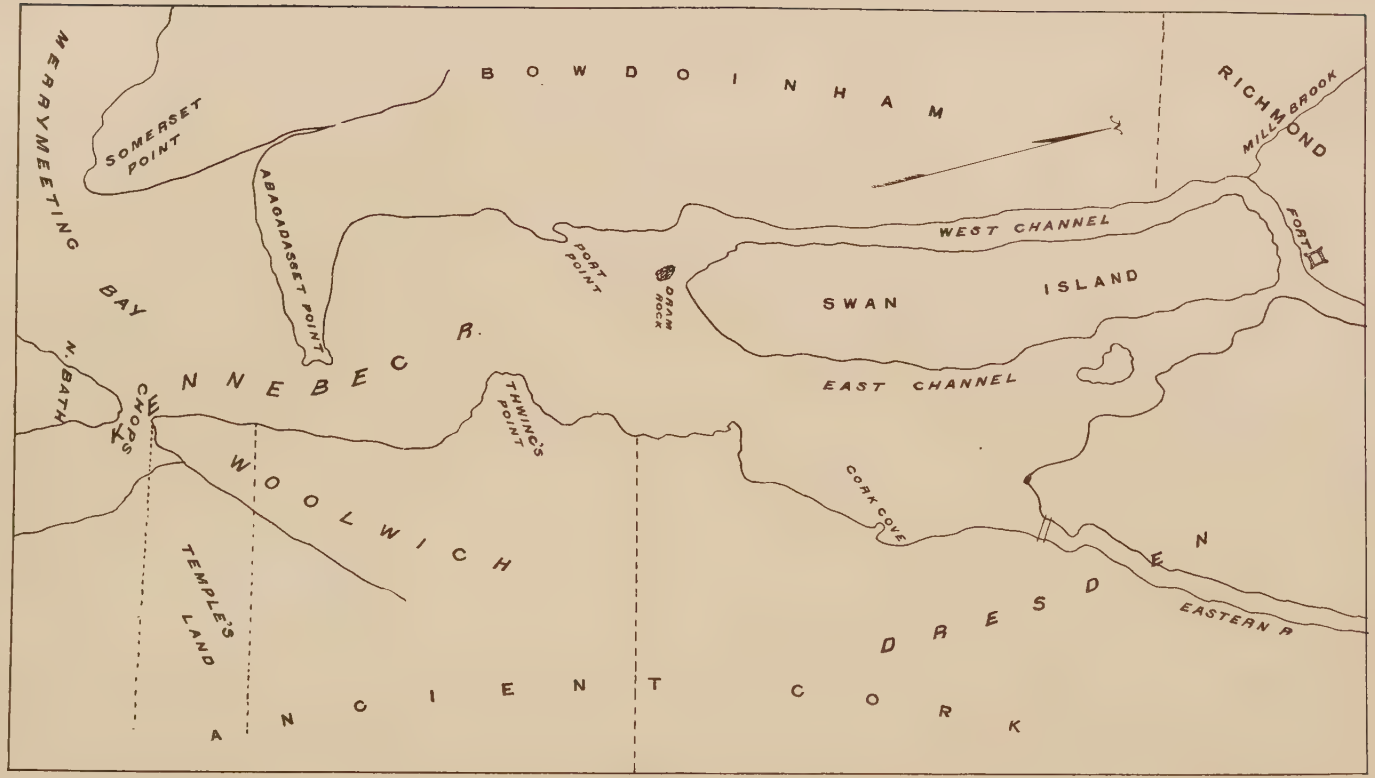
Some of the rooms remain the same as when occupied by the senior Whipple, but externally the original appearance of the house is entirely changed.

Robert Cutts owned a house just west of this, nearer to the point, which became the home of his daughter Bridget who married Reverend William Screven, a Baptist clergyman, who went to Carolina in 1684 with other members of the Cutts family and settled on the Cooper river, near what is now Charleston, South Carolina. He established the first Baptist church in the South where he spent the remainder of his life. He died in 1713, at the age of eighty-four years, leaving numerous descendants, many of whom have been distinguished in various departments of life.[1]

This house subsequently became the residence of Reverend John Newmarch of local fame. From these circumstances it becomes interestingly historic. The site of this house which was in style what was termed "piggin" (being two stories with a chimney in the end), is now occupied by the cottage of Mr. William B. Keen of Malden, Massachusetts. The stone doorstep of the old house being preserved in its original position may be seen beneath the piazza on the south side of the cottage.

[1] Maine Historical Society Quarterly, Series ii, volume 1, page 45, article by Rev. Dr. Burrage on Rev. Wm. Screven.

[To be continued.]



FORT RICHMOND AND VICINITY.

FORT RICHMOND, MAINE.

BY REVEREND HENRY O. THAYER.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 7, 1893.

THE desolated region of the Kennebec was so far an enemy's country after the peace of Utrecht that soldiers and fortified houses were requisites in attempting repossession. Fort Richmond grew out of this necessity and became a sentinel of military defense on the frontier.

It was situated just above Swan island which divides the Kennebec into two navigable channels, and was placed at the most advantageous point on the curving western bank so as to guard the entrance to both. It was twenty-six miles from the sea and twenty-one miles from the so-called Watts garrison on Arrowsic, built in 1716. By the route through the Merrymeeting bay, it was some fifteen miles from Fort George at Brunswick, reconstructed in 1715.

I. ORIGIN AND DATE OF ERECTION.

No historian has anything of value preceding Williamson, who in exhibiting events of the years 1719–20, writes,[1] "Another fortress called Fort Richmond was built about this time." Thus he leaves the date indefinite.

Two maps of Kennebec river and adjacent lands are

[1] History of Maine, Vol. 2, p. 97. Sullivan had indeed mentioned it, joining it with Fort Frankfort, and putting the construction of both in 1751 and again in 1752. Pp 117, 176.

extant[1] which bear the name of the veteran surveyor and soldier Joseph Heath. The date is clearly inscribed, "Brunswick, May 16, 1719," and on both this fort appears. Evidently the year of construction has been chiefly or wholly determined by them. Hence latterly, the accepted fact has been put into positive statements, lacking the caution of Williamson, that this defensive work "was erected by the government of Massachusetts in 1719."[2] We note, however, that one of these maps is plainly inscribed "copy;" hence its real age is indeterminate.[3] The other, presumptively an original of May, 1719, discloses plainly by ink and penwork, that the fort, lines and lettering, were an addition of uncertain date. These maps have therefore very slight value in determining the time of the fort's erection. There are, however, various records and documents of that period which do enable us to trace the steps by which this fortified post was added to the defenses of the river.

The attempted settlements about Merrymeeting bay irritated the jealous natives, and the government was constrained to send out in March, 1719, sixty men to scout on the frontier. In September, Mr. Edward Hutchinson, a member of the house for that year, who, with Robert Temple, was pushing forward those settlements, reported threats and injuries by the Indians and the prevailing spirit of mischief. He suggests that

[1] Pejepscot Papers, Vol. 6.

[2] North's Augusta, pp. 18, 21; and elsewhere in many historical works and sketches.

[3] This map has also the fort of Job Lewis at the Chops, (see article on Cork, Series II, Vol. 4, p. 257), where Robert Temple's house was burned in 1722. This estate was not conveyed to Lewis till 1727, and every probability will put the erection of his blockhouse several years later. Hence this map is a late copy of Heath's of 1719, with additions.

"Captain Bane and his men be stationed at the mouth of the Kennebec river, a place serviceable to keep the Indians in awe."[1] On the assembling of the general court in November, he again reported increasing hostility and fears of bloodshed. John Penhallow and fifty others send a memorial from Arrowsic, disclosing anxiety and sense of the great need of military protection. They likewise request the court "to send a company of soldiers to be posted, if thought fit, at or near the mouth of the Kennebec river as a covert and safeguard to Georgetown and the settlements above, and as a means to keep the Indians in awe.[2]

In these requests "the mouth of the river" cannot mean its present junction with the sea, for the absurdity is manifest, that soldiers at the seashore should be a covert to inhabitants in the interior. But, as several documents clearly prove, the ancient distinction between the Sagadahoc and Kennebec then prevailed; the river channels above Abagadasset point were regarded as a part, a northerly arm of Merrymeeting bay, by which Swan island was brought within its limits; and the mouth of the Kennebec was at the head of this island, where the river is divided into east and west channels.

Accordingly it was proposed to send fifty more men to be posted at suitable places. But in view of diverse opinions, some counseling conciliation, others inclined to vigorous measures, a commission of able men, Tailer, Stoddard, Dudley, was hastened away in December to get information and seek methods of peace. Their

[1] House Records. [2] Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 51, p. 318.

report, made at the session in July, 1720, attributed the existing troubles to the settlements above the bay, but they mention no means of defense existing, no soldiers, no forts, excepting that Pejepscot fort (Brunswick) was too small to be a refuge for the people.[1] The House at once voted, July 19, fifty men in the public pay till November, and "that his Excellency be requested to order twenty of them to be placed at Thwait's point in Kennebec river, a place represented most advantageous to encourage and cover the eastern settlement; the proprietors to provide convenient lodgings."[2]

Before the twenty-third, however, a change was effected, and the twenty soldiers were ordered to Swan island. In the late autumn, the governor replies to inquiry, and shows where troops are stationed, "at Swan island, at Arrowsic, and at Casco Bay." Hence none were at Richmond.

A conference was held with the chiefs at Arrowsic, November 25. They firmly reiterated their demand for the removal of the people from Merrymeeting. Previously when Governor Shute met them, in 1717, they evinced their umbrage at the forts and said forcibly that they should be pleased with King George, if there was never a fort in the eastern parts. Now, three years later, in a time of such irritation and threats, had there been a new cause of offense in a fort recently constructed as alleged at Richmond above the bay, the chiefs, Mogg, Wiwurna, Terramogus, and others would have uttered a determined and angry

[1] Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 29, p. 57.

[2] House records.

protest. But not a word concerning a fort was recorded. This conference revealed such deep-seated unfriendliness that measures to protect the Kennebec settlements were a demand of prudence, and December 14, it was proposed that one hundred effective men should be added to the eastern forces, and that of these forty should be posted at the mouth of Kennebec river. Thus nothing in the records to the end of 1720 discloses an existing military post which can represent Fort Richmond.

The next summer furnishes something more tangible. Captain Samuel Moody, chief in command in the east, in a letter of June, 1721, makes report of operations to the governor, that he had dispatched messengers to Norridgewock in respect to Rasle's insulting letter, and had waited for return, "in which time we have put the garrison at Thwait's point into a good posture of defense, Captain Wainwright and company being lodged there in good order."[1] Hence a place proposed a year previous, but not occupied, is now held by soldiers; a garrison, or lodging-house exists there; its defenses are at this time strengthened by Moody's and Wainwright's forces.

Questions here arise. Where definitely was this place? What is known of this building or garrison?

In October, 1649, Christopher Lawson purchased a tract of land, and later assigned it to the merchants, Clarke and Lake. It may be named the Nehumkeag tract, and it is described as in width ten miles each side of the Kennebec, and extending from Cobbosseconte

[1] Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 51, p. 354.

"southward to a place called and known by the name of Swan Alley." A prior claim to a part was held by Alexander Thwait, who sold his right to these parties, and then took the land again under lease.[1] This portion is described: "Beginning at the northernmost part of Swan Alley and thence to the northernmost part of Nahumke, and three miles on each side the river."

The Kennebec dividing at Swan island sends one branch on in a southerly course. The other flowing nearly west runs across by the head of the island, then turns at the north part of the present village of Richmond to the south again. Various deeds and maps show beyond question that this western branch bore for a long time the name Swan Alley. Its short arm across above the island was evidently the lower boundary of both Lawson's purchase and Thwait's lease. In several conveyances, 1714–20, of land south of Thwait's and west of the island, is a descriptive clause, "The place where the house of Alexander Thwait formerly stood." "Thwait's Point" also was a well-known locality, nor can we hesitate to believe that it was named from Thwait's house and home. Its situation is closely determined by a statement by the land proprietors:[2] "There is said to be a stream on the main [west] over against Swan island (running out about one third part of a mile westerly from a point formerly called Thoyt's point at the mouth of the Kennebec river) proper for a mill." This stream is "Mill brook" in the northerly part of Richmond village,

[1] Printed Case, Clarke & Lake vs. Plymouth Co. [2] Pejepscot Records, p. 105.

which flows from the west into the river near the angle where the western branch turns to the south again. Thwait's point will then be found along the northern bank of this cross channel, east from Mill brook, and by the given distance, here will be the mouth of the river, *i. e.*, the point of division into the two branches.

Another associated fact: — Some thirty years later in the land litigation, Jonathan Preble, mechanic and millwright, a pioneer settler in Arrowsic, gave testimony respecting that early period. He says: — "This settlement [Cork] was made 1720 or thereabouts, and about the same time I assisted in raising a frame for said [Edward] Hutchinson on or near the place where Fort Richmond now stands."[1] He had given details of Arrowsic and other places along the river, and here he mentions first steps above Merrymeeting bay. This building was obviously the first structure in that vicinity for his evidence was expressly sought to show beginnings, first houses or mills, and points occupied. He does not with certainty locate Hutchinson's house on the known site of the fort. Colonel Hutchinson in behalf of the heirs of Clarke and Lake had initiated their enterprises at Arrowsic, Nequasset and at Cork. This building is evidence of intention to advance also above Swan island. West of the island the Pejepscot proprietors were carrying forward similar plans. The boundary between their land and the Nehumkeag tract was in dispute,— some regarding it as running westerly from the place where

[1] York Court files.

Thwait's house stood, and some laying it down a half mile or more further north, as does Surveyor Heath on one of the maps, taking the opinion most favorable to the Pejepscot company whose agent he was. The new settlements could only be undertaken with military shielding and defense. The government required land proprietors to furnish suitable barracks for soldiers guarding the weak beginnings. This was done at Arrowsic and Small Point; and likewise when the detachment was first proposed for Thwait's point, and then changed to Swan island; in both cases the vote stipulated "the proprietors to provide them convenient lodgings." At Arrowsic and elsewhere we know the proprietors provided large houses for the temporary convenience of immigrants till their own cabins should be ready. Hence as he had done at Arrowsic, Colonel Hutchinson by this building which Mr. Preble erected made provision for the needs of soldiers or settlers. Also the erection of it would be an act of possession in manifesting his claim to the land. Evidently he fitted it up for the soldiers desired, since the first request for a company to be posted "at the mouth of the river" came from him and partners. Though turned aside to the island, possibly by the solicitations of Colonel Winthrop, its owner, the logic of events brought at length the soldiers to that place, and beyond doubt to the very house Hutchinson had provided, for we find in the summer of 1721, Wainwright and men lodged at Thwait's point. Forty men had been assigned to that place by the general court in the previous December. We must conclude that at that

time the building was in a good degree of readiness to lodge these soldiers.

These several statements and transactions concerning the defense of the Kennebec settlements cluster about a single locality which is determined within narrow limits. At or near this place is now pointed out the site of the old fort.

The foregoing details show the initial and rudimentary stage of Fort Richmond. The original structure was a commodious frame house, which, by the slight evidence obtained, was begun or fully completed not later than the autumn of 1720, and as a military station was not occupied till the winter or spring of 1721. It was constructed, not by the province of Massachusetts, but by private parties for business ends and for lodging soldiers furnished by the government for the common protection.

Until 1722, in reports, orders, letters respecting military affairs, I have found no direct mention of this fort. No appropriations are voted, no entries have come to view of disbursements to build or to maintain such a fortified post. Evidently the slight expenditures fell into the regular army bills. After the insolent raids of June and July, 1722, there is mention of soldiers "at Richmond;" in September Colonel Walton officially reports transportation of stores "to the garrison at Richmond." For several years that is the form of statement, and the later appellation, Fort Richmond, does not occur at all.

Indeed the name Richmond, first appears as the designation of a place or town. Brunswick and Tops-

ham had been laid out on the Androscoggin. Cork was begun on the east of the Kennebec. Between the latter and the bounds of Topsham was a suitable tract from which the Pejepscoct Company proposed to carve out another town. In April 1719, they voted, "To lay out six miles square bordering on the western side of Kennebec at the lower end and on Swan Alley, or the quantity of six miles square as near upon a square as the land will allow and to make four lots for Winthrop, Minot, Hutchinson and Watts."[1] In November it was voted, "That the separate division of Richmond to four partners be annulled as inconsistent."

This name, an imported English cognomen of prominence, had been at once applied to the projected township, even before the hostile bearing of the tribes called for soldiers or forts in this quarter. For a number of years in common usage it appears as the name of a town in which the fort was situated. As by the fortune of war the attempted settlement failed save the fort and a few people in its protection, the fort drew to itself the name and almost wholly possessed it. When the settlement was renewed a larger district became Bowdoinham, and from this town a portion was separated in 1823 and incorporated. Then Richmond so long a shadowy name reappeared a reality. The early and infant town christened before its birth, so quickly dying, left its name to the fort. When a century had elapsed, the fort, long dead, had its name perpetuated by the new municipality.

[1] Pejepscot Records.

II. RENEWAL AND SECOND PERIOD.

The tribes showed no abatement of hostile spirit, and the valuable service of this frontier military station in the opening of the Three Years War, made reasons for the government to give it greater efficiency. The governor's address to the general court at the November session of 1722, recommended the enlargement of the fort at Richmond, and the building of another at Cushnoc. The former work was undertaken. Captain Joseph Heath seems to have been a trained military engineer, since he was selected to draft plans for repairs of several fortifications, and among them Castle William in Boston harbor. To him in 1723, was committed the work of reconstruction at Richmond. He had made plans and estimates which the council approved and the governor on November 19, sent him orders to this effect.[1]

Sir: I have taken into consideration your proposal for the repairing and furnishing the fort at Richmond, according to your projection, to make it seventy feet square of hewed timber twelve inches thick with bastions etc. which I approve of and therefore direct you to proceed in your work with all convenient speed and that you take care to get the timber ready in the proper season. Let the work be very faithfully done and with as much speed and good husbandry as you can, the charge will be borne by the government. . . . . Captain Barker having left the command of his company,[2] I think you the most proper person to succeed him, and therefore let me know whether that will be more acceptable than your present post, but however you choose, I expect you to take the strictest care in carrying on the work at Richmond, as if you were still there, and you shall have leave to attend the same as much as is necessary. Let me know whether your fort if it be

[1] Archives, Vol. 72, p. 136.

[2] At Brunswick.

repaired according to the projection will be a good accommodation to the Mohawks if they shall come that way. Yours,

WILLIAM DUMMER.

The progress of the work is shown by Heath's report to Colonel Westbrook near the end of March, 1724, that "the house designed for the Maquois he hoped would be finished in ten days and all the rest of the work by the last of May." A report to the governor, April 27, shows that the Mohawk house only lacked the chimneys for which the bricks were nearly ready. The foregoing comprises nearly every particular which I have discovered to show what the establishment was when completed. The stockade enlarged to seventy feet square, allows the opinion that previously there had been but a weak and small inclosure about Hutchinson's house. There was, it is known, a truckhouse for the business traffic, and a building called the garrison for military uses. It is probable there was beside a lodging-house for the men; perhaps Hutchinson's house answered this purpose or for the truckhouse. Then the Indian house added will make at least four buildings in the stockade. A general idea is given by a visitor in 1726, in this brief description: "A large fort, or garrison-house fort, with ten cannon, and soldiers under Captain Heath."

By this renewal it became a military post, built and fortified in regular form by a competent engineer at the expense of the government. Hence William Lithgow, its last commander, ignores the former rudimentary stage. He says: —[1] "About a mile and a

[1] N. Eng. Hist.-Geneal. Register, Vol. 24, p. 24.

half further down the river [from old Court House] on the west side stands the remains of Fort Richmond built by the government of Massachusetts about the year 1723." His early residence in Topsham, his knowledge of the facts, made him a competent witness, and the changes must have been many in this reconstruction to cause him to assign this year as the date of original erection.

III. RECONSTRUCTION AND THIRD PERIOD.

The slow gnawing of the invisible teeth of decay, in less than two decades, made demand for repairs which proved to be an extensive rebuilding. This was undertaken in 1740.

The war of Great Britian with Spain and rumor of Spanish privateers on our coast, led the government to examine the coast defenses, and it was decided also to repair and equip the forts and trading-houses at Saco, Richmond, Saint George and Pemaquid.

Captain John Minot then in command at Richmond made an estimate of repairs required,[1] which he judged would cost some eight hundred pounds, yet with a disclaimer that it was but "a guess," inasmuch as everything was so rotten. He advised that a skillful workman be employed whom he would assist all he was able. He gives an opinion however, that the fort could be rebuilt with stone "so very handy," for eleven hundred pounds. But on the basis of further examination Governor Belcher expresses the conclusion, "that the whole works at Richmond and at Saint

[1] Records General Court, Archives, Vol. 72, p. 523.

George are so ruinous that there can be no saving of any part of the buildings without thereby weakening any repairs that may be made on them." [1]

Captain John Storer of Wells was selected master-workman and agent of the government. He reached Richmond, October 1, and begun the work, nor was it wholly completed in the following season. Minot had advised that the autumn was alone suitable time. "There is no doing anything of work in the spring of the year; the flies are extreme bad here." Storer's report of that autumn's work is extant.[2] He brought eight chosen workmen, the names of six of whom are Moses Stevens jr., Samuel Hatch jr., Joseph Coburn, Samuel Littlefield, Miles Goodwin, Hugh Dean. Men living in the vicinity of the fort, whom he would have hired, demanded such wages that he would not employ them.[3]

Captain Storer found suitable timber about two miles up river. From the second to the twenty-fifth of October they were engaged in cutting and hewing. Then the timber was hauled by ox teams to the spot. From his report, in the form of a journal, important entries are selected: —

Thursday, Oct. 2nd. I began with my eight men to cut and hew the Timber for said Fort at Richmond.

Sabbath Day, 5th. Snow.

[1] Message to the House, Sept. 3.

[2] Found among uncatalogued documents in the Massachusetts Archives by Dr. J. F. Pratt of Chelsea, to whom our Society and many Maine towns are indebted for valuable historical papers. If other reports of Heath, Storer and Minot shall be discovered they may remove obscure points respecting this fort.

[3] Twelve shillings and fifteen shillings per day. His men had, the foreman ten shillings per day, one seven pounds per month, others six pounds per month or about five shillings per day, which was the rate paid soldiers of Minot's company whose services were secured.

Saturday, 11th. King George's Coronation. Fired three great Guns.[1]

Saturday, 18th. Hall'd Timber with 12 oxen & Mr. Jonathan Bane assisting.

Friday, 24th. Finished halling Timber (Very Rainy).

Saturday, 25th. I with my 8 men hewed Timber at the Fort. Capt. Sanders arrived here this day.[2]

Monday, 27th. I with my 8 men began to lay the Foundation of the Fort.

Tuesday, 28th. I with my 8 men began to frame the Fort. Cold and Snow.

Monday, Nov. 3rd. I with my 8 men kept framing the Fort, 96 feet long, 86 wide.

Wednesday, 5th. Exceeding Stormy, Snowy Day, worked a little, fired three Great Guns in Honor of the Day.

Thursday, 6th. I with my 8 men went on with Raising the Fort.

Saturday, 8th. Capt. Minot this Day came from Swan Island on the Ice.

Sabbath Day. Exceeding cold.

Monday, 10th. Kept raising the Fort. [The same entry to the 22nd.]

Monday, 24th. I with my 8 men was Building a Truck House, thirty feet long, Twenty four feet wide.

Wednesday, 26th. I with my 8 men building a great Gun Room over the Truck House 33 ft. long, 27 ft. wide. Very Rainy.

Saturday, 29th. The Same. Kennebec river broke open.

Monday, Dec. 1. Worked on ye Gun Room and Raised a Flanker.

Tuesday, 2nd. Finished what could be done on the Fort at present.

If similar report of the next season's work could be found we might know something of other buildings

[1] George II, crowned 1727.

[2] Master of the Sloop Transport in government service.

erected, or existing. The term fort in the various documents usually means the whole establishment, buildings and defenses; but frequently it is restricted to the defending timber inclosure or stockade. It is the latter which is intended by "the fort" which he frames and raises. Usually hewed oak timber was set up in the ground and each stick treenailed to the preceding, making a solid, bullet-proof wall ten or twelve inches thick. Storer's entry, "laying the foundation of the fort," suggests that possibly a bed timber was laid on or in the ground and the uprights framed into it. The gunroom was three feet each way larger than the truckhouse, hence the upper story had a projection of eighteen inches all around, beyond the lower, the usual expedient to give the garrison a chance to fire upon and repel an assaulting party in close quarters below, using ax or fire to gain entrance. It appears that a separate building for barracks was built as late as November, 1741. In October seventeen days work is charged for "digging." Was it a cellar, a dungeon, a magazine, or were the stone and brick pavements laid at this time? Bricks as well as boards were now transported; but bricks would be required for chimneys of the new barracks, and old ones of former buildings would serve well for pavements. A building called a chapel was at some time provided for religious services, and possibly earlier than this reconstruction. Suspending work on December 2, the party returned home, arriving the sixth, and journeying as they came, which had been by land from Wells to Portland with horses to transport their luggage; then

at "Popuduck" taking a whale-boat and voyaging through Casco bay to Maquoit; then making a carry three miles to Brunswick; thence by boat again through Merrymeeting bay to Richmond.

His journal closes with his journey to Boston, to make report in person, thus: "Jan. 7th. 1740 [1741, N. S.], Wednesday I proceeded from Wells & arrived in Boston on Fryday 9th. Instant where to my Satisfaction I found your Excellency in good Health, and that God would long preserve it is the hearty Desire of your Excellency's most obedient and obliged Humble Servt. John Storer."

Captain Storer's account against the province for his time and services on liberal salary, the wages of his workmen, and of men and oxen employed, and expenses of journey, amounted to three hundred and forty pounds, fourteen shillings. Captain Minot's bill for food, lodging, wages of other workmen and sundry supplies was one hundred and twenty-seven pounds, one shilling, six pence. The expenditures this first autumn were nearly four hundred and sixty-eight pounds. Minot's bill for the same purposes in the next year amounted to four hundred and ninety-three pounds, eight shillings, six pence. We have not Storer's account for the services in 1741, yet he was at Richmond, despite the flies, from May 23 to August 14, and from October 7 to November 19; at the previous year's rate of compensation he would have charged above one hundred pounds. This will make some six hundred pounds expended in the second year, and a total in both of one thousand sixty-eight pounds. Further

work may have been done in 1742. But in 1743, there was voted "thirty-three pounds for further carrying on repairs at Richmond Fort," which by so much increases the aggregate cost of this rebuilding.[1] The treasury was not overladen at this time since in June, 1743, there was still due Captain Storer three hundred and thirty-eight pounds.[2]

Governor Shirley in September, 1742, mentions his satisfaction after visiting the eastern posts including Richmond, "that these forts are in a fair way of being soon made very strong."

The plan to put this military post into a defensive state issued in complete rebuilding; stockade, truck-house, gunroom, barracks, and we know not what more, were new. It is shown that the former truck-house was torn down in June, 1740, and when repairs were projected, the garrison, — the main house of defense, — was so leaky as to injure the province stores, which probably had been transferred to it.

Another obscure and vexing question arises. Governor Belcher in his message of 1740, respecting this project, further said, "I must observe to you that Richmond fort without any extraordinary expense may be so placed as at once to command the south-west and northeast and west branches of Kennebeck river."[3]

The simplest and evident meaning of this suggestion is a change of location. Indeed could it intend

[1] North's History of Augusta states that Fort Richmond was rebuilt in 1740 at an expense of £596. This sum is the very footing of Minot's account excepting two additional items, but it does not exhibit the actual expenditure, as it does not include Storer's demand against the province.

[2] Council Records.

[3] Message.

anything else. It does not seem possible that the governor could have intended only so much change of situation as could be had in the given area, ninety-six by eighty-six feet, nor a change in frontage such that at a different angle the guns could more effectively bear upon the river. We must therefore interpret him as believing there was another place where the fort would better subserve its purpose. The present known site probably without a dissenting opinion, will be regarded most advantageous for the end mentioned, — to command the three channels of the river. Then . . . . and his military advisers erred in judgment, or the fort was at their direction rebuilt on a new site. In the concise business papers of Captains Storer and Minot, there is nothing casting any light on the question of removal, for or against it. The work went forward slowly during two years. The old structures would be utilized till the new were fitted for use. Minot was keeping his stores and goods in the old garrison when the work began. There is not a word respecting removal to the new truckhouse, whether near or at a distance.

Also the situation and topography enter the problem. Thwait's point where we must believe was the frame house, the original of the fort, was declared to be about one third of a mile from Mill brook. Eastward from this brook along the transverse channel are six well defined ridges separated by depressions or slight drainage streams, and sloping down to the river. The fourth of these nearly agrees with the reputed distance to Thwait's point. The sixth at the curve of the channel

was the final fort site. The fourth in shape and surroundings is a most inviting situation for a pioneer's home, and none the less for a fortified house. Certainly the presumption has fair basis that here Thwait built his cabin in the wilderness which furnished a landmark in the next century. Regarding this as well assured, then by all the lines of evidence, here was the fortified post built in 1723. The sixth where the final fort did stand, is one hundred yards more than a half mile from Mill brook. Whatever probable degree of accuracy can be allowed to that reputed one-third will add its grain's weight to the presumption of a changed location. The governor's statement proves that another station had been examined and proposed, having enhanced serviceableness. That was placed at a point, which will be conceded to be equalled by no other for commanding the entire river. Though the evidence is so slight, a change of location best falls into adjustment with all the conditions.

The actual site of the reconstructed garrison is abundantly certified. To aged persons now living it has been pointed out by those who well remember "the old block house." Doubtless the most accurate account is derived from the family which had a home on the spot.

John Parks, with his wife Sarah [Dickinson] immigrated from Hull, England, to Salem, Massachusetts, in 1774. Previous to May, 1776, they came to the Kennebec. He came into possession of land,[1] which in-

[1] By some agreement with a Mr. Alin, it is said, who must have been Henry Alline, clerk afterwards of the Plymouth Company (1790), at whose instance he is said to have come to the Kennebec.

cluded the fort area, and there built a house and dwelt for the remainder of his days. He projected, and managed the ferry at that place, and his sons after him, which even now is locally known as "Parks Ferry." A granddaughter, the wife of Captain Samuel Blanchard of Richmond has lately visited the spot and given details of the old establishment.[1] She was born in 1810, and lived with her grandmother much of the time for seventeen years. The Park house was demolished within the memory of many persons, but its cellar has continued a sure witness of the location. Near it is an ancient well known by the Parks family to have furnished the water supply of the fort. Their testimony is positive that the blockhouse covered it. That building had been torn down before Mrs. Blanchard's memory, but she remembers when changes were made about the well, and that large timbers, fifteen to eighteen inches square, were dug out, which were then declared to have pertained to the blockhouse. This well is three hundred and seven feet north from the shore, and two hundred and forty-three south of the Maine Central Railroad, and is about forty feet above the river level. She tells also of a path or way paved with brick extending to the river. The fort landing was at the present ferry-way, and the present ferryman, Mr. Wood, has there dug out fragments of old timber referred to the ancient fort wharf.

In the season of 1891, upon the site of Parks

[1] To our associate, Mr. Walter H. Sturtevant, who has rendered me very valuable services in the local investigation.

house, was built the fine residence of Captain James Hathorne.[1] The old cellar was enlarged for the new house. In extending the excavation for a cellar under the ell, the workmen brought to view a pavement very like those formerly laid in our cities, constructed of rounded stones such as are found along rivers or the seashore. Quite a section was dug up, but the extent or shape was not determined. It was well laid; beneath was blue clay and above ordinary loam. Abutting upon it was the brick pavement already mentioned. This was three to four feet wide, the bricks laid on edge. The excavation also revealed a cross wall, which extended four to six feet below the surface and in a direction diagonal to the cellar wall in construction. Only a portion was uncovered, as also of the stone and brick pavements. From beneath a tilted stone at the base of this wall was dug out a coin, a penny of George II, dated 1740. Another, an Irish penny of 1723, was thrown out in the dirt from the old cellar, and likewise a United States cent bearing date 1798. The stone wall seemed like an earlier structure than the stone pavement for the latter extended over it. It appeared also to have had an opening or a way through it, afterward built up with stone to close it. A piece of oak wood, a quarter of an eight-inch log was dug out six or more feet below the surface, a portion of which was sound and very hard, and furnished a handle for a pickax. It should be especially noted that the pavement, stone and

[1] In the employment of the Knickerbocker Steam Towage Company. The work was progressing at the time of that season's Field Day excursion of our Society, and a visit was made to the spot.

brick, was twelve to eighteen inches beneath the soil.[1]

To those passing up the river by steamboat, the new house, on the high land directly back of the ferry wharf, is a prominent landmark showing the precise location of the last blockhouse.

IV. COMMANDERS, FORCES AND EVENTS.

An imperfect register can be made of officers and soldiers who held this military post. Most prominently in the list stands Joseph Heath of Massachusetts, who in his later years was a resident of Roxbury. He came early to Brunswick in the service of Pejepscot Proprietors; was their surveyor, agent and clerk; was chosen temporary clerk of that proposed town in 1717. Still attending to the company's affairs he took part in the repressive measures against the hostile tribes and received a lieutenant's commission, probably in July, 1720, and was put in the command of the detachment of twenty men sent to Swan island. His muster roll shows service there from August to the following February. For more than ten years he was the leading officer above Merrymeeting bay, commanding scouting parties and superintending affairs of war or peace. His muster roll for six months, from December, 1721, is inscribed, "In His Majesty's service in the eastern parts,"[2]— not specifically at Richmond. Captain Wainwright is the first known officer posted at this place, June, 1721. Lieutenant Heath was here a year later, and doubtless was Wainwright's imme-

[1] Statements made to me by Solomon B. Hathorn, foreman of cellar construction, and by Charles Johnson, a workman.

[2] Council Records, Vol. 2, p. 337.

diate successor, making this fortified house his station and rendezvous in guarding and scouting. In February, 1723, the eastern forces in the command of Colonel Harmon were formed into three divisions, and with one Heath was to range up Kennebec river. As the month of May opened, dispatches show Lieutenant Oliver in command, and at the end of the month Lieutenant [George] Allen. In November the plan for rebuilding shows Heath and company stationed at Richmond. A year later, November, 1724, Heath petitions for captain's pay in view of increased duty in the previous six months, and refers to himself as "the officer commanding the fort at Richmond."[1] He had been advanced to captain's rank in July, 1722.

Jabez Bradbury, who had served many years under Heath, had the command for a time about 1731, but as Heath in the next year makes requisition for "a large canoe, twenty-four feet long, three feet, ten inches wide," he had not finally left the post. Captain John Minot is the next officer known, present here in 1736 or previously, and continuing till September, 1742.[2] At this time John Oulton was chosen truckmaster, and it is inferred that he had received the command, as the two duties were usually united in one officer. In 1748, William Lithgow was assigned to this post, and held it until, as he writes, "In 1755 I dismantled the fort and delivered the building to Sylvester Gardiner at the governor's order." He was transferred to the new Fort Halifax at this time.

[1] New Eng. Hist.-Geneal. Reg. 1892, p. 141.

[2] A muster roll of this date is mentioned.

Joseph Beane was for several years previous to 1742, attached to the force as interpreter. Minot's accounts indicate that Bean had his family at Richmond. Philip Trueman before 1743 had been, as he avers in a petition for pay, sixteen years in service at Richmond, first as sergeant, then ensign, and for a time also interpreter. Reverend Stephen Parker,[1] ordained as a missionary to the eastern Indians, resided here and performed the duty of chaplain for five or more years, probably beginning about 1732. Jonathan Pierpoint[2] was chaplain for the years 1739–42, also was ensign, and performed surgeon's duty besides. A record shows that he was present June 2, 1723, and preached two sermons from the text in Ezek. 26 : 36-7. Doctors Bullman and Moody are mentioned as surgeons, dividing their services between Richmond and Arrowsic in the Three Years' War.

The forces garrisoning this post varied with hostile conditions. Forty men were first assigned to "Thwait's point," in the winter of 1720, and that number was needed through the following year. After the mocking raid of June, 1722, the force at Richmond was temporarily increased by ten men and a whaleboat, and in August was voted to be twenty-five. In the next year Colonel Westbrook ordered sixteen men kept there constantly ; soon the number was carried up to twenty-five. In June, 1724, Captain Heath had but twenty, and regarded that number so small as to imperil the fort. A year later his roll shows twenty-

[1] Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 10, p. 507.

[2] Son of Rev. Jonathan Pierpont of Reading, Mass., and was graduated at Harvard College, 1714.

six names. In 1732 there were seventeen men. In 1736 twenty-three, in 1740 and 1742 but sixteen. In the alarm felt in 1750 the number was increased to twenty-four. Two years after there were but twelve with a lieutenant, corporal and armorer.

The experiment of employing Mohawks as auxiliaries was not encouraging. How many came to Maine is not learned, but six came from Albany in the summer of 1724 in charge of Zechariah Trescott, the returning captive. Three others joined them in Boston. We assume that these men were sent to Heath's force and participated in the expedition to Penobscot. Heath reported that three proved good men.

Subsequently a few Indians, probably not Mohawks, but friendly Abnaquis were in Captain Minot's care, These names appear, Quenois, Pramagen, Packanumbamet and Espequeset, receiving allowances as soldiers in pay.[1] Three upon the muster roll are ranked, in a Pickwickian sense, Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel and Major. An Indian house sixteen by eighteen feet was built in 1740. It was doubtless intended for the shelter and convenience of such as came for trade and other business. The truckhouses at several points, under government inspection and control, were of great value to the natives in bartering furs. They shut out knavish, irresponsible traffickers, always eager to prey upon the poor Indian. They also tended to conserve peace, in binding the natives to the English interest that they might secure their necessary supplies. The fort commander bore responsibilities weighty as those of a for-

[1] Capt. Minot's account book.

eign minister, sending messages, answering complaints, calming angry feeling, learning the plans or disposition of the savages through messengers and scouts, and often dispensing the government's charity. In the summer of 1727, when peace was fully established, a large number of Indians gathered near Fort Richmond, and the government voted provisions for their need to the worth of three hundred pounds, which were shipped to Captain Heath for distribution. Bread and pork were sent to the fort again in 1752 for similar purpose. Heath reports in the years 1728–30, amounts expended for like ends. Among them is the item "To the old blind squaw of Abomazeen who lay about the fort helpless, begging that the governor would have mercy on her for Christ's sake, fifteen shillings and ten pence."[1] Captain Minot, in 1742, makes charges against the province for sundries given to the Indians; and also the special entry in April: "To Sundries given them last Winter in an Extreme time of Difficulty £21."

But twice, so far as I have gleaned, did the enemy invest the fort with hostile intent. We should presume on a fierce attack at the times in 1722 when Brunswick and Arrowsic were so defiantly assaulted, but no evidence discloses it. In that feverish year, 1750, when the Whidden-Noble family on Swan island was taken, another part of the marauding party, about forty, hid near the fort, keenly watching for opportunity to seize it by stealthy cunning or guile. When discovered they assaulted it for three hours by all

[1] Massachusetts Archives Vol. 31, p. 167.

methods in their power but with no success. They however killed many cattle, burned a house and surprised and carried away Philip Jenkins, who had gone into the woods that morning.[1] A part of the garrison had been called away leaving but a few men for defense, and the post would have been in far greater peril, had not Mr. Samuel Goodwin and his surveying party of eight men fortunately taken shelter in the fort the previous evening. In the next year, Captain Lithgow reports a similar assault, availing only in killing nine cattle in the vicinity.

By the building of the forts Frankfort, Western and Halifax higher up the river, Fort Richmond of no further avail for military uses, was dismantled in 1755, and thereafter served only the ends of peace. Indeed it contributed to promulgate the gospel of peace and good will by offering a residence to the Episcopal minister of the Frankfort settlement, Reverend William MacClenachan, who arrived in 1756. In August of the next year in a complaining tone he writes to the supporting society that he had up to that time resided in an old dismantled fort.[2] His successor, Reverend Jacob Bailey, in 1761, likewise made his home in it for several years, and was allowed the use of the land about it, which was sometimes called "Richmond Farm." The chapel was used by the former clergyman for his religious services and by the latter till the erection of the courthouse.

The account of expenditures for rebuilding presented to the province by Captain Minot, still extant,[3] is a

[1] Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 73, p. 707.
[2] The Frontier Missionary, p. 77.
[3] Also found by Dr. J. F. Pratt.

transcript from his book of accounts as truckmaster. It is a small, blank book six by seven inches, having lost its cover and the first twenty-six of its one hundred and eighty-eight pages.[1] The entries begin May, 1737, and extend to late in 1742. A few in subsequent years seem to pertain to his own business. These entries give a fragmentary, but suggestive view of movements of the truck trade, and of affairs at the fort and vicinity.

Articles delivered indicate that a number of soldiers had families to provide for, and were settlers in the vicinity or had dwellings near. These names are prominent ones: James Buzzell, James Coller [or Collier], George Harris, Edward Hobby, Philip Trueman, Thomas Washburn, David Witcher, John Woods. The latter had a son, Joseph, also a soldier, and another son, or perhaps a brother, James. The interpreter, Joseph Beane, who was for a while lieutenant, had sons Daniel, David and James, the two last in military service. Beane appears to be the owner of oxen, and connected with lumbering at the mill. Matthew McKenny likewise has a family; a son George, and Jenne a daughter, are mentioned. He was an Irish weaver from Ballymony, and emigrated about 1729. After leaving Richmond in 1742, he occupied Tuessic neck [in Woolwich], and later settled in Georgetown, where descendants remain to the present. The wife of Chaplain Pierpont is mentioned. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1714. Items such as wood, hay, shingles, use of oxen, show how

[1] In possession of our Society.

some of these men named on muster roll were engaged. James Collier is credited with posts and rails sent to Governor Belcher in 1740. He also was cook for Storer's workmen, and brewed their beer. Buzzell was a carpenter. He with others made repairs on the stockade and garrison in June before rebuilding. At this time is an item, "a cod-line for halliards," so the flag was kept flying. Harris and Witcher did similar work, and built the Indian house. The ubiquitous John Smith was here likewise, not only a soldier, but a tailor. Thomas Washburn was armorer, in 1742.

Ensign Colby was at Captain Heath's request in 1721, commissioned lieutenant. Walter McFarland, a young man released from captivity, was interperter, 1753, and previously. Only an occasional muster-roll exists, and the names of subordinate officers cannot be known. Indeed the superior in command is not fully shown, and the length of service is seldom marked. Conflicting evidence leaves obscure the date of Minot's leaving the command, but a muster roll dated September 1, 1742, is his own voucher that he remained at the post till that time. An entry in his account book, October 9, says,—"Sundries dld. Captain Oulton, £1801," evidently the amount of stock in the truckhouse. Undoubtedly he surrendered his command as well as the trade about this time.[1] Besides soldiers' names mentioned as probably having families, there are on this last muster-roll, Nicholas White, James Beveridge, David Beane, Miles Goodden, George McKenney, John Johnson, and Boston (Negro)

[1] He owned a farm at Mere Point, Brunswick, whither he went to live.

Among persons outside worthy of mention, is "Captain Peter Nowell, of York," who built a sawmill, of course on Mill brook, in 1738. He supplied most of the lumber used in fort construction; had a son Silas and doubtless a family. A Mr. Waymouth also furnished boards. He lived some three hundred yards from the fort, but died before the autumn of 1741. Samuel Haines repaired or made shoes. Gershom Flagg acted as glazier, and had quite a bill for work done at the fort. Robert Hazzard was a blacksmith, and was reported by Minot as at hand and able to do the iron work needed for the fort. Collier's wife did washing for Storer's men. Harriet Ellethorp got pay for making shirts, and Minot credits Robert Lithgow of Topsham, or his wife, with "spinning for my wife." Obadiah and Philip Call [Dresden Neck] have an account, as do James Drummond and his brother-in-law, Alexander Campbell, tenants of farms of Job Lewis, below Merrymeeting bay, who bring butter. Patrick Drummond gets credit, "By so much Indians allowed for your horse killing, £16." Philip Call likewise, "By 4 bush. pease the indians took out of your hhd." Against the Indian Packanumbamet is the charge, "So much pd. a young man you killed his horse." There are accounts with John Daws of Swan island, with Jonathan Preble, and John Salle of Arrowsic, also with Major Dennie, to whom Minot paid £3 for two sheep, which gave a change in the workmen's "diet." Arthur Noble is charged with hides, doubtless from cattle killed for garrison use, and credited with shoes, but thereby the conclusion is no

more warranted that Noble had a tannery [in Phipsburg][1] than that he had a shoe manufactory because Minot credits him with shoes received and sells them. Noble was a trader and a middleman for Boston parties.

Various entries by Captain Minot will show the prevailing scale of prices. Board of the workmen was charged at twenty-five shillings per week. But Minot boarded Storer and George Clark, a carpenter, the next season, and received thirty shillings. He says, "at my house," and evidently had a separate building or apartments from the regulation barracks. Pork per bbl. was £11 and £13; a quarter of veal 8s. and 9s.; beef 8d.; potatoes 4s. and turnips 5s. per bushel; peas and beans 20s.; dry fish 6d.; a salmon 4s., 6d.; molasses 7s.; pepper 8d. per oz.; meal per bu. 12s.; boards per M. 90s.; shingles 32s.; lime, which came from Pemaquid, was 50s. per hhd. In accounts with several men, one-third and one-half of all the items are for rum. It is priced 2s., 8d. per quart. For the use of Storer and his men, the first season the entries show, "196 muggs flipp, at 1s. 2.: £11, 8s. 8d.," and "rum more given the men at raising: £13, 1s." But Trueman furnished milk for the workmen, and his bill is £9, 2s., 6d. A day's work of oxen is priced 10s. Beane in charge of them had the same. Witcher in a certain job had 8s., and Minot charged the same for "my man Nick;" but Boston, another negro, had 5s., the usual price of working men.

A busy, thriving little community is indicated, already grown up about Richmond fort.

[1] Maine Historical Society Collection, Series i, Vol. 8, p. 177.

CAPUCHIN AND JESUIT FATHERS AT PENTAGOËT.

BY REV. E. C. CUMMINGS.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, January 25, 1894.

If, instead of staying at Saint Sauveur,[1] the members of Madame de Guerchville's missionary expedition had sailed on to Pentagoët, had discovered the route to Kadesquit, wherever that may have been, and escaped the irruption of Argal, still their situation would have been exposed and isolated, and it seems unlikely that they could have held their ground for any considerable time. It required a larger current of colonization to float the treasure of the church in a savage realm; and this larger current found its way up the St. Lawrence, and on to the vast group of mediterranean lakes, and so to the boundless prairies of the West.

The next Jesuit relation is for the year 1626, and is dated at Quebec, August first. Here were already established the Recollects Fathers. These were Franciscans of the strict observance, and much esteemed by Henry IV, Louis XIII, and Louis XIV. Their name Recollects, as it is given in the Catholic dictionary, was chosen to signify their detachment from creatures, and their spiritual recollection in the divine life. The relation for 1626 is by Father Charles Lalement, and speaks of five as making up the company that broke ground again in New France. They arrived at the end

[1] See Father Biard's Relation of 1616 and Saint Sauveur, Quarterly, January, 1894.

of June, 1625, and employed the months of July and August in writing letters, and making themselves acquainted with the country. They appear to have been at first the guests of the Récollets Fathers, as the relation speaks of their desire to relieve these Fathers of the inconvenience they had occasioned them. So, after much consideration of different places and mature advice, on the first of September, they planted the holy cross in the place they had chosen, with all possible solemnity. The Reverend Récollets Fathers and all the prominent French colonists gave their assistance, and after dinner they all set themselves to work. The relation proceeds: — "We have since steadily continued, we five, to uproot the trees and to spade the ground as long as the weather permitted." But even during these labors their minds were intent upon the great purpose of acquiring the language of the country.

From this time onward the importance of the Jesuit Fathers to French enterprise in America, as well as the importance of French enterprise in America to the Jesuit Fathers, was clearly recognized. The missionary teaching was an essential element in the aspirations of French colonists. Serious and able men like Champlain were fast friends and faithful coadjutors of the missionaries, while the best minds of whatever calling, interested in the destinies of New France, were bent upon winning the friendship and coöperation of the native tribes, and upon making those tribes capable of enjoying with them the advantages and duties of a Christian civilization. It was but a little

while before many of the Indians became acquainted with the Fathers, and would ask for news of Father Lalement or Father Masse or Father Brebeuf, pronouncing their names with great propriety.

In the relation for 1633, by Father LeJeune, there are notices of a very interesting character, setting forth the wise and considerate treatment of the savages on the part of Champlain. He appeals to the practical proofs of friendliness on his own part and on behalf of his nation; and when the Indian orator, with an eloquence that surprised his cultivated listeners, set forth his desire that his people should not ally themselves with the English, but should hold on in their friendship with the French, the orator's great fear was that some one might be killed in this commerce of Indians and French, since not all the world is reasonable or soberly advised, and then his people would be lost. But the thing he desired was that the French should come to their good lands, build a small house, and then a larger one with proper defenses, and then one larger still, and that they should all go in and out as faithful friends. Champlain concluded the conference by telling them that, when that house should be built, the sons of the French would marry their daughters, and they would all be but one people.

On another occasion [1633, page 36], Champlain took care to say the best things of the Jesuit Fathers, assuring the Indians present that the Fathers were going into their country to see them as a proof of how much affection the French had for them.

These are our Fathers, he said to them—we love them more than we love our children or ourselves. Great account is made of them in France. It is not hunger or poverty that brings them into this country. They do not come to look at your goods or your furs. You see Louis Amantacha here of your own nation, who knows them, and who knows well that I say what is true; if you love the French, as you say you do, love these Fathers, honor them, they will teach you the way to heaven. This is what has made them leave their country and their friends and all comforts and conveniences—to teach you, and especially to teach your children a knowledge so great and necessary.

To such words as these two chiefs replied in turn with the strongest expressions of confidence and good will. One of them said that when the French were no longer here, the earth was no more the earth, the river was no more the river, the sky was no more the sky; but at the return of the Sieur de Champlain, everything came back to its proper state, the earth was again the earth, the river became once more the river, and the sky appeared the sky. The other chief confessed how much the savages were all subject to fears on account of their enemies; but he added that the Sieur de Champlain inspired fear by his very looks; that in war with one glance of his eye he struck terror into the hearts of the enemy. Therefore the young men must remember what had been said to them, and never pretend that these things had not been talked over in full council. He called their attention, that henceforth they might render obedience.

The conclusion of the council was the assurance on the part of Father Brebeuf in their own language that the Fathers were going with them to live and die,

that the savages were their brothers, that they were of the same nation with the savages; and, if the Fathers could not stay in all their villages, it was not because they did not love the whole nation, but because being so few they could not dwell in so many places at once; yet they hoped for more of the brethren to come. Great satisfaction was expressed by the natives; and the Fathers were asked to open their hearts as to what they wanted: "Will you live in our cabins? or would you prefer to have a cabin apart?" "I should choose to have one apart" said the Father. "Very well," they replied, "we will all make our cabins around you." [1633, pages 36, 37.]

I gather these typical representations, almost in the very language of Father LeJeune's relation, that we may see what was the large humanity and keen practical judgment that governed the conduct of the Jesuit Fathers twenty years after the destruction of Saint Sauveur. They were indeed too few for an army of occupation, but for a corps of observation they were not too many; and, they were of unequaled intelligence, courage, initiative and devotion. A spiritual enterprise of equal difficulty and danger undertaken by men of a similar intellectual training and soldierly discipline can hardly be found in the history of mankind. In reading their relations we see how the current of events got its direction; and are at the source whence all the historians of New France have drawn both matter and inspiration. But no history at second hand has such correlation of facts, such clearness of outline and vividness of coloring, such

pervading and particular demonstration of reality, as have these faithful and detailed reports. They appear to have been as special a matter of official duty as the dispatches of any commander in ordinary warfare.

Indeed, so full of picturesque charm as well as of historical significance are these relations with respect both to the Jesuits themselves and the native to whom they ministered, that I am not content to leave them without presenting at least two somewhat complete illustrations:—one a picture of what I may call a diplomatic conference with chiefs representing their people, the other a smaller sketch of the Jesuit method of primary instruction. [1636, pages 60, 61, 62.]

The chief of the Tadoussac savages being at Quebec with an escort of his people, who were going to war, desired to speak in council to monsieur the governor, to monsieur the general, in a word to the French. The chief of the savages at Quebec was present. The assembly was held in the store of the company, where I found myself by order of monsieur the governor. Each party being seated, the French on one side, the savages on the other, the chief of Tadoussac began his oration (*à haranguer*). He was clothed in the French manner, in a very handsome dress under a scarlet overcoat. As he was about to speak he took off his hat, and bowed (*fit une reverence*) with much propriety after the French manner (*assez gentiment à la Françoise*), then addressing himself to the chiefs, especially to Monsieur du Plessis, whom he called his younger brother, — "You see," said he, "that I am French; you know, my brother, that my nation holds me for such; they think that I have the happiness of being loved by the chieftains, and that I am their relative; as to myself you know that I have the heart of a Frenchman. I have always loved you; ought I to have any doubt of your reciprocal affection? Tell me, I pray you, if I may count upon your friendship,

as you are assured of mine?" Having said that, he waited to hear the reply. When they had assured him of their friendship, he proceeded: "My compatriots press me strongly to test the credit which I have with you. They believe that you are my friends, but they would see it by proofs. What word shall I take to them yonder, where I am going to find them? You know that it is the mark of friends to succor those whom they love in time of need. The succor which you shall give us in our wars shall be the faithful testimony of your friendship. Your denial of help will cover my face with confusion." Such very nearly was the discourse of this barbarian, which astonished monsieur our governor.

The other chief, taking up the word, said: "When the weather is bad we go into our houses, we take our coverings, we shut our doors to protect ourselves from the discomforts of the air; now behold us in a season of war very distressing, we have not force enough to protect us from our enemies, we seek your aid, do not refuse it; your friend conjures you; if you do not lend him a hand, you will see him disappear in the onslaught of his enemies; you will seek him with eyes and mouth, demanding where is such an one, who loved us so much, and whom we love? Learning of his disaster, you will be sad, and your heart will say to you, 'If we had given him succor, our eyes would still have pleasure in seeing him, and our heart in loving him, and now, behold, we are in bitterness;' now it depends upon you to save yourselves from this anguish, and to give yourselves the contentment of seeing him return from the fight full of life and of glory." I add nothing to the discourse of this savage, he touched upon all these reasons and many others, which he drew out gravely in his own language.

An old man, all hoary, spoke afterwards in the ancient manner. These good people had caused to be thrown down at the feet of our chieftains a package of beaver skins, according to a custom they have of making presents when they wish to obtain anything. It was from this the old man began: "When we visit the peoples who are our neighbors and allies, we make them presents, which speak while we are silent. Those who receive these presents,

turning to their young people address them in this manner: 'Courage, young men, make your generosity to be seen. Behold these beautiful robes, which await you on your return from war; remember those who have made these gifts, and kill many of their enemies.'" "You see here a good custom," said this old man. "You ought to observe it as well as we."

From this point the subject was taken up in the way of reply, to wit, that, though they should fill the house with beavers, war was not to be undertaken for the sake of their presents; that we bring succor to our friends not for the hope of any recompense, but for the sake of their friendship; that, for the rest, men were not brought over for them as we did not know they were at war; that those they were looking at did not all bear arms, and that those who bore arms were not content that the savages had not as yet allied themselves with the French by any marriage, and that it was plainly to be seen that they were not willing to be the same people with us, as they gave their children this way and that way to the nations their allies, and not to the French.

The chief of Tadoussac replied that the method of making a strong alliance was to give proof of our courage and good will; for, said he, "your young men returning from war after the massacre of our enemies will have no trouble in obtaining some of our daughters in marriage." "As for the children," said he, "where does one see anything else than little savages in the houses of the French? One sees boys there; one sees girls there. What more do you want? I believes that one of these days our wives will be demanded of us. You ask us continually for our children, and you do not give us yours. I know of no family among us, which has in its keeping any French child."

Monsieur the governor, hearing this reply, said to me, I do not know that a Roman senator could have answered more to the point on the subject proposed. I agreed with him that in France they made our savages much more thick headed (*massifs*) than they are.

But we put an end to this assembly. It was replied that the late Monsieur de Champlain of good memory had succored them in war, and even for that they had not allied themselves with us;

they were given to understand that their children were wanted only for the purpose of instructing them, and that we might one day be the same people with them; that we had no need otherwise to burden ourselves with the children; that if we did not give them any of ours, it was for the reason of their demanding so great recompense, though having nothing with which to nourish them, while we supported and instructed theirs at no expense to them. This truth brought them to a dead stand. As to what concerned the war it was shown them that neither a large number nor a small number of Frenchmen could be furnished to them. As to giving them a large number they saw plainly that the thing could not be done, since the vessels could not be deprived of their men; and as for a small number, our Frenchmen would not go with them for the reason, as they said, that the savages did not know how to obey and to hold the foot firm in war, at the first fancy they fly away like birds, which makes it necessary for the French being but a small number to take to flight also, a thing of which they are very much ashamed; for among us those who run are mocked at. Brave soldiers such as we are will conquer or die. They were satisfied with these reasons, and the council ended.

It is not to be presumed that all savages were equally candid, but this is a good example of French humanity and French adroitness in dealing with them. They did not undertake to convey their teaching apart from the actual public and social emergencies in connection with which personal duty becomes pressing, and moral inculcation is felt to be appropriate.

Equally vivid and interesting is the description of their method with children, in laying up in their memories and imaginations the types of language and ritual, through which they might the more effectually reach a spiritual appreciation of the facts and doctrines of Christianity. This matter is presented in the rela-

tion for 1637, chapter VII. Arrived at the chapel the boys were placed on one side and the girls on the other, while the French boys and girls were placed at the side of the little savages, that they might aid by their example the process of initiating the untamed children in the actions required. The little girls were beyond comparison more tractable than the boys, and immensely fond of the little French girls, and ambitious of imitating their ways. The relation says: —

Before beginning their instruction I made them kneel with me; we began by the sign of the cross, pronouncing these words, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, first in Latin, then in Savage; I said a little prayer in their language, to ask the aid of the Holy Spirit and grace to believe in God; they all said it with me. That done each took his place. Very often the grown-up savages presented themselves with the little ones. They did as a rule what they saw me do. When each one was seated, I pronounced quietly the *Pater*, or the *Credo*, which I have put into a sort of measure that we may be able to chant it. They followed me word for word, learning it readily by heart. When we had learned some couplet or stanza, we chanted it, in which they took great delight; the oldest even chanted with them. After the chanting I made them repeat after me certain questions and answers concerning our faith, which they retained remarkably well, and gave me a good account of afterwards, replying to all my questions without stumbling, though at times I put them in a new form. Then I made them a little discourse either on some article of the creed, or about the last things, or else refuting, perhaps ridiculing, their foolish belief. In conclusion they all knelt to ask of our Lord grace to remember what had been taught them, his light to enable them to believe in him, and strength to obey him, together with his protection against the malice of the devil. In this way the explication of our catechism was gone through with, after which we had them warm themselves, and often set out for them

some little repast, before and after which they prayed to God in the manner of Christians.

It may easily be imagined with what breadth and ingenuity such primitive and formal lessons would be expanded and adjusted to the growing demands of the young learners. And this general method we may take to have been that of all the Jesuit missions.

The relation for 1635 is signed not only by the writer, Father Paul LeJeune, Superior of the Residence at Quebec, but also by fourteen other Fathers and four lay brethren. From the general cast of the communication I infer that these nineteen constituted the whole force of Jesuit missionaries in New France at that time, from Lake Huron to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. But what especially concerns my present purpose is that two names are here of persons whom we met twenty-two years back. They were both at Saint Sauveur; one, Father Ennemond Masse, having come over with Father Biard in 1611, and the other, Father Claude Quantin, having arrived with Captain de la Saussaye, 1613. Men of experience and resolution such as these two must have acquired, would not forget a name so important as Pentagoët in the story of their first missionary adventure, no matter to what "fresh woods and pastures new" their subsequent work might have led them. Besides, the wandering habits of the native tribes, and their habitual alertness for attack or defense, served the purpose of postal arrangements as well as of written or printed communications. From the valley of the Kennebec, the Penobscot, the St. John, messengers came to the

valley of the St. Lawrence; and in "the Residence of our Lady of the Angels," so the humble gathering place of the Fathers near Quebec was called, what messenger would be accounted an angel of God, if not one from Acadia asking for missionaries to repair the desolations of twenty years or more since those parts had begun to catch the light of a new era? Had Father Masse and Father Quantin forgotten Acadia?

The Jesuit Fathers were indomitable explorers, not only in their personal journeyings, but also by investigations about tribes and regions beyond their journeyings through intercourse with savages who claimed to speak advisedly with regard to them. Thus remoter peoples were always reporting themselves, probably with more or less of exaggeration, through those who came in contact with the missionaries; so that their verifiable geography and ethnography were always gathering a penumbra out of the vast unknown to enlarge their faith and hope respecting the future conquests of the kingdom of God.

Chapter x, in the relation of New France for 1640, gives a kind of general census (*dénombrement*) of certain tribes having their borders in part on the banks of the great river St. Lawrence. The writer, Father LeJeune, begins with the Esquimaux, on the north coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, very barbarous and great enemies of the Europeans; but there are reports of other little tribes on the same coast. Then he comes to Tadoussac, Quebec, Three Rivers, always mentioning tribes farther off with whom the

nearer tribes have commerce. He arrives at the Ottawa river and goes on with his reckoning of nations as far as the Hurons "at the entrance of the Sweet Sea;" six nations between the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa, then called *La Riviere des Prairies*. He makes a turn to lake Nipissing, and then back to "the Sweet Sea," which is nothing else than a vast lake, on to other Sweet Seas, and sums up with—"here are the nations which border upon these great lakes, or these seas, on the coast of the North." Further on through these great lakes, further details of tribes; and he has been told this year that an Algonquin, journeying beyond these peoples, had arrived at nations exceedingly populous. "I saw them," said the reporter, "assembled as in a fair to buy and sell, in such multitudes that one could not count them." "He gave an idea," adds the Father, "of cities in Europe. I do not know how much truth there is in the story."

Later comes a similar review of the southern shore of the St. Lawrence. Farther up than the rapids of St. Louis, now the La Chine rapids, are found he says, "fine nations to the south, all comparatively settled and very numerous." I could make my page quite Homeric by giving a list of twenty-nine of these nations taken from a Huron map which Father Paul Ragueneau had furnished to Father Le Jeune. "Behold here," adds the Father, "a beautiful field for laborers in the Gospel, and already well planted here and there with the cross."

But this is not all; we are led down by Cape Breton

to the Atlantic coast, or, as the writer calls it, the Sea of Acadia, and the great rivers of Maine; the Etechemins, the people of Pentagoët, the Abnakis and others come in for considerate mention, though they are small communities. And so we are brought to what pertains more especially to our local history.

On the twenty-seventh of March, 1632, Isaac de Razilly, a man distinguished in his country's service, a relative of Cardinal Richelieu, and high in his favor, entered into an agreement with the Company of New France with reference to a renewal of French enterprise in Acadia after the treaty of *Saint-Germain-en-Laye*, by which Acadia was restored to France; England having laid claim to it especially after the operations of Captain Argal, on the ground of its discovery by Cabot, and the whole of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and the Gaspé peninsula having been granted by King James I, to Sir William Alexander, in 1621.

Razilly was to receive from the Cardinal a vessel called *L'esperance en Dieu*, duly armed and provided. He was to receive also ready money, in consideration of which he was to put the Company of New France in possession of Port Royal without any further charges. He engaged also to fit out an armed pinnace of at least one hundred tons, and to carry out to Acadia three Capuchin friars and such a company of men as the Company of New France should judge to be proper. This is the earliest, almost the only mention that I find of the Capuchins in America outside the Jesuit relations. It is made by Hannay, History of

Acadia, page 126. Similar slight reference to them, not always by name, may be found in other works; but this announces their modest entrance upon the scene, under the auspices of Richelieu, in the following of Razilly and his lieutenant Charles de Menou, Seigneur d' Aulnay de Charnisay. It is undoubtedly to the settlement of the latter at Pentagoët that is due a little hospice of the Capuchin Fathers, subsequently established in that place, according to the Abbé Maurault, about 1640.

The Capuchin father is a familiar figure to sojourners in Rome, with his coarse snuff-brown frock and "rope that goes all round"—bare for much of the year as to his head and feet, only the feet protected with sandals, and the head, when the hair and beard need to be reinforced in extreme weather, availing itself of a hood or cowl (*capuchon*) from which the name of the order is taken. The reason is that early in the sixteenth century a Franciscan with a tendency to strict observance found out, as he thought, that the whole company of Franciscans were wearing cowls not so long, nor so peaked, as St. Francis had worn, and insisted, in the interest of outside orthodoxy, upon bringing the cowl back to its original shape. Under his leadership, therefore, a distinct order was instituted called Capuchins (Cowlists). This scrupulosity about a thing seemingly indifferent did not hinder the Capuchins from having in their company men of every Christian virtue, distinguished scholars and great preachers. So the Fathers of Pentagoët were likely to be zealous missionaries under their reformed habit

and quaint name without so much as a thought of the length and peakedness of their hoods.

Assuming that the Capuchin Fathers came to Pentagoët in the d' Aulnay following, at what date did they depart? We know that the English took possession of the whole province of Acadia in 1654, and held it to the year 1667, when it was restored to the French by the treaty of Breda. This English conquest together with the fierce irruptions of the Iroquois was very discouraging to the missionaries and to their savage followers. I have not come upon any record of a summary and sudden withdrawal of forces as the immediate consequence of English supremacy; but there can be no doubt that withdrawal in due time took place, and that with it there was a considerable immigration of the Abenakis to the more secure regions of the St. Lawrence and to settlements established under Jesuit auspices. The statement of the Abbé Maurault, [*Histoire des Abenakis*, page 165] that "it was while the English were enjoying this conquest that the Jesuit Fathers and the Capuchin Fathers left Acadia, is amply justified. This would make it not incredible that the Capuchins had even fifteen years in their hospice at Pentagoët. But on what day they embarked from France, with what outfit and what promises of support, on what day they landed at Pentagoët, how many of them and their names, whether their hospice was a life-saving station for wrecked mariners and stray hunters, what animals or boats they had, what records they kept of service and hospitality, whether they learned the Abenaki speech,

or gathered to the French settlement a native society, what reports they made and to whom, how they passed their day, who of them died and were buried, what books, hymns, prayers, they used, did they cultivate the ground, did flowers grow in their gardens, did they maintain the courage of their convictions under the pressure of their exile? On these and a hundred other questions there is silence like that of Houdon's grand statue of St. Bruno in Rome, at which Pope Clement XIV used to gaze in rapt attention, and by and by say: "he would speak, if it were not forbidden by the rule of his order."

The rule of their order, however, did not forbid the Capuchins from holding correspondence with the Jesuits, and it is through the Jesuits that this obscure episode appears lighted up with a brief radiance of human and Christian fellowship. It is a bright picture which Father Lalement gives in his relation for 1647, of Father Dreuilletes' Mission of the Assumption to the country of the Abenaquis: —

> The savage, his guide, seeing himself upon the shores of the Sea of Acadia, took (*conduisit*) the Father in his little bark canoe as far as Pentagoët, where he found a little hospice of Capuchin Fathers, who embraced him with the love and charity which any one may count upon from their goodness. The Reverend Father Ignatius, of Paris, made him all the welcome possible. After having refreshed himself for some time with these good Fathers he reembarks in his canoe and makes his return passage through the English settlements which he had visited on his way. The Sieur Chaste furnished him with abundant provisions for his voyage, and gave him letters to the English who were in command at Kinibeki, in which he testified that he had remarked nothing in the Father that was not most praise-

worthy, that he was moved by no commercial considerations, that the savages would bear witness that he was thinking only of their instruction, and was come to secure their salvation at the risk of his own life—in a word that he (the Sieur Chaste) admired the Father's courage.

Father Dreuilletes' labors in the Mission of the Assumption were intermittent. His assistance was needed elsewhere; and, after any visit to the Kennebec of such duration as to prove not only the crying need but the hopeful efficiency of his efforts, he was by and by recalled to Quebec to the great sorrow of his savage disciples. There was too, apparently, a certain missionary courtesy of the Jesuit Fathers and the Capuchin Fathers, like that which now prevails among our foreign missionaries, which required a considerate respect on the part of one order for the field of operations occupied by the other. The Jesuits had for a while hoped, it seems, that the Capuchin Fathers might be able to render such Christian ministrations to the Abenakis of the Kennebec as well as to those of the Penobscot, as would leave them wholly to their work in Canada. It is a matter of interest, therefore, that in the relation for the year 1651, we have a letter from the Superior of the missions of the Reverend Capuchin Fathers in Acadia, the Reverend Father Cosme de Mante, dated in the year 1648, from what place we are not told. The letter is held to have been very encouraging to the Jesuit visitations on the Kennebec, and was in these words:—

We conjure your Reverences by the sacred charity (*dilection*) of Jesus and Mary, for the salvation of those poor souls that call

you to the south, to give them all the help your courageous and indefatigable benevolence (*charité*) can afford them; and even if on your way to the Kennebec you should meet with some of our order (*des nôstres*) that you would do us the pleasure of making known to them your wants; and that, if you do not meet any of them, you will continue, if it seem good to you, your holy instructions to these poor and neglected barbarians to the utmost which your service of love will permit.

The Capuchin Fathers probably had not the intellectual aptitudes and soldierly discipline of their Jesuit brethren; were less fitted to hold their ground in the arduous struggle with barbarism, and through the trying vicissitudes of French and English competition. Once gone these ghostly forms did not revisit the glimpses of the moon on the Pentagoët shores. We honor their brief memorial, and bid them farewell.

The Jesuit Fathers, with their base of operations on the St. Lawrence, could hold on in hope of better times. Acadia had always been a discouraging field by reason of the quarrels of the French leaders with one another, together with the growing strength and aggressiveness of the English. The visits of Father Dreuilletes on the Kennebec, though repeated and patiently protracted, were little more than missionary excursions; while the interesting diplomatic episode, in which the Father was commissioned to negotiate an alliance between the colonies of New England and New France together with the Abenakis, against the Iroquois, resulted in bitter disappointment to the French and Abenakis; the men of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay having, after due deliberation, apparently concluded that it was more to their advantage

to take the chance of using the Iroquois against their French and Abenaki neighbors, than to take the chance of using their French and Abenaki neighbors against the Iroquois.

With the retirement of the missionaries, there was, as has been already intimated, a gradual withdrawal of the native population to the St. Lawrence valley, and, in 1683, the gathering of important settlements under Jesuit auspices.

Here the Abenakis, tired of war and wandering, were offered at least a temporary repose. They were permitted again to see their teachers. From among the Jesuit Fathers two brothers, James and Vincent Bigot, were chosen to have charge of these Abenaki settlements. They strengthened the things that remained, always listening to catch any news from the Kennebec and Penobscot waters.

After the treaty of Breda, 1667, affairs in Acadia assumed gradually a more collected and consistent character. The volume of colonial life was increased, the ambitious conflicts of lordly adventurers were arrested, and the progress of the new society began to show an order of its own.

At this period comes in the remarkable and familiar career of the Baron de Saint-Castin. According to the Abbé Maurault, himself a missionary to the Abenakis from 1847 to 1866, and possibly still longer, who studied their history and even their genealogies with a dutiful attention, leaving the results of his labors in his *Histoire des Abénakis*—the marriage of European adventurers of every sort with native women

was for a time very common, and not unknown even so late as 1700. The baron married a chief's daughter, [1] in view, doubtless, of the advantages which such an alliance would be likely to secure, namely, domestic comfort, social ascendency, freedom of trade, and resources of defense or offense. At any rate, all these advantages he appears to have realized in an eminent degree. His fort and trading-house, his French and Indian following, established at Pentagoët, became a source of confidence or alarm according to the interests that were fostered or menaced from this center of intelligence and force. Here Saint-Castin resided from a little after 1676 till 1708, when he went back to inherit his patrimony in France, leaving his eldest son to follow up his new-world initiative, and to enjoy, if he could, a similar favor of fortune. He died in 1722.

Towards 1689, the Jesuit Fathers, encouraged by their wonderful success with the Abenakis in Canada, resolved to undertake new missions in Acadia, that now for thirty years had been left to darkness and ignorance. Father Vincent Bigot was sent to Pentagoët, accompanied by his brother, Father James Bigot, who left for some time his mission of Saint François de Sales, on the river Chaudière.

These two missionaries gathered a great number of Abenakis in the fort of the Baron de Saint-Castin. They built there, it is said, a church, sixty feet long by thirty feet broad, and a house for the residence of the missionary. It is to be noted also that in this very

[1] See reference to the issue of this marriage in Father Rasles' letter to his nephew: Collections of Maine Historical Society. Series ii, Vol. 4, p. 165.

year Father Rasles arrived in Quebec; and, this new missionary, after two years with the Abenakis in Canada and two more with the Illinois, was recalled from the far west, and passed the remainder of his days with the Abenakis of the Kennebec.

The mission of Pentagoët had not the continuous ministrations of a man like Father Rasles; and the light there seems to have retired mysteriously instead of going out in massacre and martyrdom. Father James Bigot returned to his mission in Canada after only a short residence in Pentagoët. Father Vincent Bigot succeeded him for two years, and went back to replace his brother in Canada, the latter then leaving for France. His successors in Pentagoët were the Fathers de la Chasse, Bineteau, M. Thury, a secular priest, and others, in turn. In 1701, I am following the dates of the Abbé Maurault, page 382, Father Vincent Bigot returned to Acadia, and there wrote an account of the progress of Christianity with the savages at Pentagoët. This relation was kindly lent me by Bishop Healy about a year ago. To the best of my recollection it is chiefly occupied with the pious dispositions, the spiritual exercises, the religious devotion and the Christian endeavors, of the Abenakis of Pentagoët; the virtues called forth in the hard school of a restricted and distempered life. They fell in no respect below their brethren in Canada in the fervor of their piety. Father Rasles' appreciation of his disciples, though somewhat more restrained, is in the same general tone.

A narrow study in an obscure period is much like

blazing one's way through untrodden woods. Something like a path solicits the explorer now this way and then another way; but he must choose one direction. So innumerable questions may solicit the historical explorer; but he does well who can hold on his way in the direction of one inquiry. The main inquiry to which I am brought at last is this:—when and under what motive did the Indian Pentagoët in the neighborhood of Castine pass up the Penobscot and renew itself in the neighborhood of Oldtown? For, according to all appearances, such a passage and renewal in 1723 had taken place. Up to a certain time, not to be definitely settled, everything points to Pentagoët by the bay — nothing to an Indian community on the river above navigation. Father Rasles, however, writing in 1722, speaks of three villages on three rivers, of which his own is one. And the Abbé Ferland, in his excellent "*Cours d' Histoire du Canada*," after rehearsing the destruction of Old Point and the death of Father Rasle, gives this very significant paragraph, Volume II, page 422.

This attack of the English, in which, while peace with France was unbroken, they massacred a French Jesuit, in no small measure prostrated the settlement of Narantchuak. It was one of five which the Abenakis possessed; there were two on the St. Lawrence, one at St. Francis, and the other at Bécancour; not a few Abenaki families had been transferred thither, driven back by the English, who took possession of their lands. Narantchuak was on the river Kinibéki, Panaouamski on the river Pentagouet, and Médockeck on the river Saint Jean. From each of these settlements there was easy communication by its river with Quebec in the space of a few days. This circumstance rendered their position very important to Canada, for which they formed

one of the most powerful defenses. M. de Vaudreuil pressed it upon the court not to fail in protecting them from the encroachments of the English, who were making their advance towards Canada by seizing upon the lands of these savages.

Thus the three Indian settlements on as many rivers —the Kennebec, the Penobscot and the St. John, were more than missionary stations; they were picket posts of the French forces of whatever sort contending with the English in America. And the man who never slept at his post was the missionary. Besides, Panaouamski in particular is of interest to us, because the name meets us, as we shall presently see, in another connection.

Is it not likely that, after the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, when the French pretensions in Acadia were surrendered, Castine became too conspicuous and important in the wars and commerce of England to be much longer attractive or even tenable for the Abenakis and the Jesuit mission; and that, therefore, the whole settlement was retired to a forest seclusion up river not unlike that of Old Point on the Kennebec? The space and time between the flourishing settlement under the elder Saint-Castin and the destruction of a deserted village on the Penobscot by Colonel Westbrook is to me "without form and void." But in this deserted village, if anywhere, the retreat of the Pentagoët mission is to be found. I may add that in connection with Colonel Westbrook's expedition, there is a sufficiently striking example of how errors creep into history.

When the Abbé Maurault came to this expedition, his

original sources of information would appear to have failed him, since he refers to Bancroft alone as his authority. Bancroft refers to Williamson and to Colonel Westbrook's letter, which Williamson faithfully gives. It is instructive to follow these three testimonies. Bancroft says :—

> After five days' march through the woods, Westbrooke, with his company, came upon the Indian settlement, that was probably above Bangor, at Old Town. He found a fort, seventy yards long and fifty in breadth, well protected by stockades fourteen feet high, inclosing twenty-three houses regularly built. On the south side, near at hand, was the chapel, sixty feet long, and thirty wide, well and handsomely furnished within and without; and south of this stood the "friar's dwelling-house." The invaders arrived there on the ninth of March, at six in the evening. That night they set fire to the village and by sunrise next morning every building was in ashes. [Hist. Vol. III, p. 336, nineteenth edition.]

Unfortunately Mr. Bancroft omitted in this paragraph to note the very important negative element of the story, that not an inhabitant was in the village when Westbrook found it. And this sin of omission on his part may account for, and partly excuse, the Abbé Maurault's sin of commission. To the Abbé's historic sense, inhabitants constituted a chief element of the situation; and what was he to infer but a destruction more bloody and complete than that at Norridgewock in August of the following year? As to the arrival of Westbrook, the description of the village and the church, he is in literal accord with his authority. But where his authority is silent he feels called upon to speak the more boldly,

whether from inference or rumor, and here is what he says:—

Westbrooke did not attack the village at once. He halted, and waited till the savages were buried in sleep, in order to secure the greater success in his scheme of destruction. In the middle of the night he threw his force with impetuosity upon the fort. The soldiers overthrew the palisades and hurled themselves upon the dwellings. They killed without pity all the savages whom they found, men women and children, old and infirm; then they set fire to the village and the church, after having secured a rich booty. The next morning the fort was nothing but a heap of ashes. [*Histoire des Abénakis*, pages 402, 403].

This is indeed a tragic construction for a conscientious writer, who really has studied his subject. Let us therefore appeal to the sole scrap of original evidence which the transaction affords, namely the official report of Colonel Westbrook himself. I omit the first part relating to the voyage to the Penobscot, and the efforts to find and reach the fort, and come to the summing up of the affair:—

We left a guard of forty men on the left side of the river to facilitate our return, and arrived at the fort by six of the clock in the evening. It appeared to have been deserted in the autumn preceding, when the enemy carried away every article and thing, except a few papers. The fort was seventy yards in length and fifty in breadth, walled with stockades fourteen feet in height, and enclosed twenty-three "well finished wigwams," or as another calls them, "houses built regular." On the south side was their chapel in compass sixty feet by thirty, handsomely and well finished, both within and on the outside. A little farther south was the dwelling house of the priest, which was very commodious. We set fire to them all, and by sunrise next morn-

ing they were in ashes. [Williamson's History of Maine, Vol. II, page 121.]

Ten or twelve years later [says the Abbé Maurault] Saint-Castin, on his return from France, gathered around him the remnants of the Abnakis dispersed in Acadia, and reestablished in nearly the same locality the village of Pentagoët. This village exists to-day. It is that of Old Town on the Penobscot river. The village still has a Catholic Missionary. [*Histoire des Abénakis*, page 403.]

I take this statement, so far as it relates to Saint-Castin, to be largely inferential. There is very little, if anything, to support it in the intelligent researches of the late Honorable John E. Godfrey, of Bangor, concerning "The Ancient Penobscot," and "Castine the Younger," who as the eldest son inherited something of his father's authority and influence with the Abenakis, and held a commission also in the French service. [Maine Historical Society's Collections, Vol. VII.]

It is in this connection that Panaouamske meets us, not only as a name for the region of the Penobscot in general, but also as the designation of a settlement, which Mr. Godfrey supposes to have been either at the head of the tide, or at Oldtown. And it is from Panaouamske, July 8, 1728, between five and six years after Westbrook's expedition, that a letter is dated, written by Father Lauverjait to Father de la Chasse, in which a bitter complaint is made against M. de Saint-Castin and his younger brother, for immoral behavior, recklessness of religion, and lack of patriotic zeal for the French interest. It is quite evident that the prophetic soul of Saint-Castin had

assured him that other interests than those of France were to prevail in the Penobscot country. Accordingly in 1731 he sent a communication to the Marquis de Beauharnois, successor of the Marquis de Vaudrueil in the governorship of New France, to the effect that the English, in the words of Mr. Godfrey, "were making considerable establishments in the neighborhood of the Indian territory, and probably would render themselves masters of it by force." After 1731 Mr. Godfrey is unable to find anything further relating to the Saint-Castins.

It is true, however, that all indications point to the Indian Oldtown of to-day as the genuine memorial, if not an authentic survival, of the Pentagoët of the Capuchin and Jesuit Fathers.

NATHANIEL PHILLIPS' RELATION, 1668.

Contributed by Dr. Charles E. Banks.

[The following document from the archives of the Public Record office, London, was procured by me several years since, to add to my collection of materials for a history of the usurpation of the Province of Maine by the Massachusetts authorities, 1652–1678. It is an interesting story, told by a royalist, of the methods used by Massachusetts to disturb the *status quo* which had existed in Maine for three years following the settlement of affairs by the Royal Commissioners in 1665.

Nathaniel Phillips was a resident of Saco, and son of Major William Phillips, the large landed proprietor of that place.]

A true Relation of Passages and actions in the Province of Maine, in respect of the Subverting of His Majestie's Established Government by the Generall Court of the Mathechusetts in New England.

Imprimis. A Company of restles people in the province of Maine of noe Creditt or reputation, but living upon Lande of others proprietors, petitioning to the last Generall Court at Boston houlden in May 1668 to take them into their Government, In answer thereunto the said Court forthwith without any conference with the justices of the province of Maine instituted by his Ma^{ties} honorable Comissioners Issued out Warrants in his Ma^{ties} name, but by and under the authority of the Mathechusets to keepe a Court at Yorke in that Province, the said Court Commissionating Gentlemen to goe there and exercise Justice as under their Government. Upon the hearing

thereof the Gentlemen of the said province of Maine addresses themselves unto the honorable Colonell Nicholls, Certifying him of the premisses, from whome they received a noble and most wholsome Answer, with the best advice how to Act, also a Copy of a Letter unto the Generall Court of Boston, also the Originall of his Ma.^ties^ Signification bearing date the 10^th^ of Aprill 1666, wherein his Majestie Signifies his pleasure, that all determinations made by his Comissioners in reference to the boundes and limitts of patents and Jurisdiction be observed untill a full representation of all pretences his Majestic shall make his own determination. Notwithstanding the Generall Court, or rather as may be said, part thereof, sent their Commissioners and officers to York the Metropolitant of the province, who there appeared upon the second Tuesday of July last past, to say Major Generall Leveritt, M^r^ Edward Ting, Capt. Richard Wallden, Capt. Pike, attended with about twelve armed men on horseback, with a retinue of as many more of their friends with Swords, most being Captains and men of worth accompted amongst them. Tuesday being the Court day, the Major Generall and the rest of the Comissioners with his Retinue, and the rebellious petitioners, with drum beating before them marched upp to the Church and there read their Comission from the Generall Court, the Justices opposing them in their proceedings, shewing them his Majestie's Signification bearing date Aprill 1666, pressing it hard to them, insomuch that the Major Generall said, hee did verily believe it was the King's hand, but yett they had

a Comission from the Generall Court of Boston, according to that they must Act, and would doe, Upon which the Justices, after some private Conference betwixt themselves, concluded to sett themselves in Judicature in the afternoone, and being sett they sent their province Marshall with Major Philips his Sonne, with a Warrant in his Majestie's name, and under his imediate authority to warne all his subjects there to appeare at the Church, there to attend his Majestie's pleasure, there intending to shew their power, and from whome, soe to see which was of most waite. But the Marshall, and Nathaniell Phillips were surprised and forthwith imprisoned in the exercising of their duty and office by the Major Generall's command to his officers, forthwith hee with all his Company repayring to the Church with drum before him, there told the Justices his resolution desiring all things in love, but resolved in his way. Whereupon they to avoyd a tumult withdrew in private, being loft to cause a disturbance amongst the people, although much animated on by severall, yet in obedience and observance of the honorable Colonell Nicholl's Letter followed his advice, concluded thus to give them in a protest against their proceedings in that province; Soe leaving the Issue thereof to God's good providence, and his Majestie's pleasure, which protest was given in on Wednesday, soe everyone of them departed to their owne homes, then the Bostonions had swing enough, Keeping Court with some few of the rebellious persons, Some Townes having not one appeared, there they turned out all Military officers and Commission-

ated others in their Roomes, Instituting new justices to Governe under them.

Thursday being the day of their breaking upp, after the Boston Comissioners were gone, one of their new made officers was pleased to fall in discourse of his Majestie and his Comissioners in a very approbious manner, undervalueing both, and saying they had noe comission, but beggarly fellowes, and that his Majestie darst not owne any Comissions hee had given for his Ears, forthwith complaint was made to one of their Justices what was said, yet noe notice would be taken of it. Thus farr the Mathechusetts having acted in their usurpation, in their subverting the King's present Government, thinking all was well, Sundry persons and Townes not petitioning, not soe much as one of office or power, soe that many would not obey their usurping power, particularly the Towne of Saco where Major Phillipps lives stood unanimously against them, onely except their new made Major Pembleton, who hath beene one of the greatest Instruments in this obstruction of government, being so proud of his office, began to ride full speed before he was well mounted in his Saddle, that is to say before hee had taken his oath, was very busy in his Actions, but he mett with opposition with Major Phillipps, all the whole Towne owning noe power, but what was from his Majestie, upon which the said Pembleton sent to Boston to the Major Generall a great Complaint against Major Phillipps, that nothing would be done without hee was sent far away, the hearte of the people was soe led by him, upon which the Major

Generall of Boston sent his Warrant by the chiefe Marshall, to apprehend the body of the said Phillipps, who went and served his Warrant on him, but he refused to obey him or his Authority, having nothing to doe there in respect of Government, the Marshall returning home with his Answer things were deferred untill the next Court.

But in the Interim Major Phillipps comeing to Boston about his business, not being afraid of his Adversaries, the Governor and Major Generall M^r^ Ting appointed him a meeting, where they did adjetate the businesse in private, but not agreeing they presently tould him that hee must owne their power in the Province of Maine, and give in five hundred pound bond to that Court, not to meddle in his place by virtue or his Commission, or any wayes act or doe in opposition to the Government of the Mathechusetts, upon the refusall to goe to prison Major Phillipps replyed, hee would not answer it, to owne their power in the province of Maine, untill, his Majestie had determinated according to his Signification of pleasure, neither would hee, but declared against it, Upon which the Court writt his Mittimus and sent him to Goale, where hee now lyeth, and is soe contented until his Majestie's pleasure is knowne although much to his damage being from family and busines above one hundred miles now imprisoned, In the meane time what the issue will be is not Knowne but the Province is Certainly in a very Confusion, every one obeying whome they List for the accomplishing of their owne endes, soe the province now is worse than ever.

There is many a good man heartily prayes that his Majestie would end these grievances in setting a firme, sounde, wholesome Government, and Governor over the said province, that there may be an end to these frothy turnings and windings, and all in his Majestie's name, although act not by his Authority, Soe that his Majestie's name is only a Cloke for usurpation and Rebellion.

Further it is to be taken notice that Major Generall Leveritt sate in Court all the time with his Sword by his side, a thing not usuall in Courts of peace and Justice, also commanded by his Warrant, the Records of the said province, from the Recorder and one of his Majestie's justices namely M^{r} Edward Richworth; upon his denial and disobeying the same, they went into his house by force, and tooke them away, the men that tooke them were the two chiefe Marshalls with two assisting them. This relation is asserted to be a truth per one of his Majestie's faithfull Subjects.

Nath^{ll} Phillipps.

Boston the 1st of September, 1668.

REVEREND SYLVANUS BOARDMAN.

BY REVEREND GEORGE BULLEN, D.D.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, December, 7, 1893.

THE centennial of the Baptist church in North Livermore, Maine, was celebrated October 5, 1893. Reverend Sylvanus Boardman, the first pastor of this church,

was a descendant of William Boardman, who came from old England into New England in the year of our Lord 1638, and settled in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where a few years later he "owned and occupied the estate at the easterly corner of Harvard Square and Dunster street, a most eligible property." He was soon appointed steward of Harvard College. His son Andrew succeeded to the homestead which continued in the family for "about a hundred and fifty years," and also to some of his father's official trusts. He was followed in the path of honor and service by his brother Aaron. He made large additions to the homestead and became "an extensive landholder in the town." Aaron was followed by his nephew, Andrew, whose life was almost wholly spent in public place. He was steward of the college, serving "forty-four years." "He was town clerk thirty-one successive years, treasurer forty-six successive years," "selectman eighteen years," representative two years. His son Andrew, great grandson of William, succeeded him as steward of the college, serving the brief period of three years, "thus nearly if not entirely completing a century of stewardship by the same family." He "succeeded his father also in the office of town clerk, which he held thirty-nine years —and of town treasurer which he held twenty-three years. He was representative in the general court twenty-two years in two periods. He was justice of the peace, register of probate twenty-four successive years, and judge of the court of common pleas seventeen years." Civil service seems to have prevailed in

those days in Cambridge. "It is remarkable," the historian says, "that the office of town clerk was held by three generations of the same family, father, son and grandson, for eighty consecutive years, and that the name of the incumbent was Andrew Boardman through the whole period. The first two also," he adds, "held the office of treasurer for sixty-eight successive years." A grand-daughter of William Boardman became the wife of one of Harvard's presidents.

It was into the line of such a family, a family of such social position, such recognized business capacity, and official integrity, in successive generations, that Sylvanus Boardman was born. He was of the fourth generation from the emigrant ancestor. His father, Andrew Boardman, was graduated from the University in 1737, and ordained in 1746, as parish minister, in Chilmark, the southwestern town of Martha's Vineyard, which position he held, till his death in 1776, a period of thirty years. The front foundation of the meeting house, in which he preached, is still traceable in the greensward; the cellar of the house, in which he lived, in which his children were born, and the well from which the family supply was drawn, are still found. Here, in a region very desolate to-day, on a farm so stony and barren as to be hardly habitable, Sylvanus Boardman was born, September 15, 1757. Here his childhood and youth were passed. He was the sixth child of his parents and their third son. On his mother's side he was linked with the large Allen family, whose descendants have been numerous in the region a little north of Livermore, his maternal

grandfather being Sylvanus Allen. One of his maternal great-grandfathers was William Holmes, second pastor of the Chilmark parish. Mr. Holmes was probably of Scottish descent, but born in Ireland. He was a man of moral and religious strength, and is well reported of by tradition to this day.

At the age of fifteen years Sylvanus Boardman was placed in a Latin school, in Chilmark, to be prepared for college, his father purposing to have him enter Harvard college in 1774. He was nearly fitted, and the doors of the college were about opening to admit him, when Cambridge and its vicinity became "occupied by soldiers," the shadows of the Revolution thus falling upon the classic halls. Turned from his chosen path, the young student "commenced the study of anatomy, physics, and surgery," which he prosecuted for about two years, till the death of his father from small pox in 1776. This event broke up the son's plans and entirely unsettled him. He was now nineteen years old, old enough it would seem to see that the one thing to do was to finish his medical studies and begin the work of life. This he did not do; instead, he began a desultory life. For ten years he was here and there, teaching school for a short period now and then, but not finding his place; not settling down to the business of life. As to his movements during this time, he subsequently wrote, "I visited the states of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, in hopes that a door might open for a decent, comfortable living, without hard labor, an article to which I always had a peculiar aversion." He never

looked back upon these years without sorrow and self reproof. He seems to have had very little religious thought; his conduct was fairly respectable, but he lived a pleasurable life, and in certain circles indulged in some "excesses." Now he awoke to the fact that his best years were slipping away, and he was getting nothing out of life and putting nothing into it. "Fair prospects" now and then appeared, soon to vanish. Having come somewhat to himself, in a condition of discouragement and loneliness, without property, and without friends, he thought, he "formed the disagreeable resolution of visiting the District of Maine, as the last alternative. Accordingly," he adds, "in May 1787, I embarked at New Bedford for Kennebec, a country which till then I had always held in low estimation. I arrived in safety, took up land and commenced clearing up a lot entirely uncultivated, with my own hands, and, strange as it may appear, though I still had but a poor opinion of the country, I enjoyed much greater contentment in my new and hard employment than I had done for many years before." His experience had not been profitless.

The land Mr. Boardman took up and cleared with his own hands was in North Livermore; on it he built a house, that is still standing. He came to the District of Maine as one of "four partners," all being from Martha's Vineyard. In some way and respects they were to "share with each other their gains and losses." The records go no further. At the time the town was organized, April 13, 1795, Mr. Boardman was elected

one of the three selectmen, and at the close of the year was reëlected; and again a few years later, he served in this capacity. In 1802, he represented the town in the general court in Boston. Thus he shared in a limited field and to a limited extent, the experience in public affairs of some of his predecessors.

April 12, 1790, Mr. Boardman was married to Miss Phebe Dana, daughter of George and Margaret Dana. She was born in Stowe, Massachusetts, and, as her maiden name suggests, had most excellent general family connections. She was a young woman of rare attractiveness, of superior mental and moral qualities, a really strong nature, and became a true helpmeet. She was a niece of Deacon Livermore by his marriage; also of Cutting Clark, one of the early settlers of the town. "And now," Mr. Boardman subsequently wrote, "the time had arrived which I had long pitched upon as the season most congenial to becoming religious. Alas! my scanty views of a religious life." He had previously united with a church of the established order in his native town. In 1793, a Baptist church was organized in Livermore, and a little later a Congregational church. In the formation of the latter, Mr. Boardman took an active part. But this was not to be his spiritual home. At length becoming a Baptist in his religious convictions, he, together with his wife, united with the Baptist church in Livermore in June, 1795. For the remaining fifty years he lived a stable Christian life.

During the early years of this period he was led forward towards the Christian ministry step by step,

as was the wise custom of those times, when ministers were few; when none among Baptists were educated men. His place was made in the community. In a short time he found his permanent place in the church, and in due time in the denomination of his choice. Not long after he professed his faith in baptism, he was appointed to write the annual letter of the church to the association. This he did again and again before he became its pastor. He was church clerk, repeatedly its moderator, then its "standing moderator," and was requested "to take the lead of meetings on the Lord's day." Thus his gifts were developed, thus his training in "practical theology" was gained. From his conversion he had a very strong desire to hold "up the gospel light to others," and as occasion was presented and as necessity required, he sought to persuade sinners and to encourage saints; all the time uneasy, he afterwards said, lest he "should learn to be a preacher." In his own estimation he was not possessed of one qualification for the gospel ministry; yet he was not "easy without trying to sound the gospel trumpet." He finally reached the point of suggesting that if the "brethren could believe it to be for the glory of God," he would accept a license. They heartily approved and gave him a license. In a few months, the church proposed that he be ordained and become its pastor. Reluctantly he was persuaded, and on the third day of February, 1802, he was inducted into the sacred ministry and took the pastoral oversight of this people.

It is interesting to observe that Sylvanus Boardman

at the time of his ordination was more than forty-four years old. He reached this noblest station, by proving his fitness for it. The informal and unintended candidating revealed him to himself and to his brethren. Though not bred in college halls, he was well bred for his high calling and its holy functions. Fitted for college, for two years a student of medicine, more or less versed in the law, a teacher of youth now and then for ten years, himself taught for seven years in the school of Jesus Christ, practised during these years in social and public service, this was no mean equipment for the ministry; this in any age and country will bring power to a man of large intellectual capacity, of good common sense, of generous nature. He will find his place, the people will find him. It may be late, but the law of values will by and by assert itself.

Mr. Boardman was a man of commanding physical presence. He was nearly six feet tall, broad shouldered, compact, heavy. These are no mean elements of strength; they furnish a most helpful setting for moral and intellectual powers. Many of the world's conspicuous and able men have been, indeed, of less than medium stature; but massiveness of body is a splendid support and servant of brain and heart. Little that is fully intelligent and trustworthy is at hand concerning him as a public speaker. He had a bland, benignant face, which beamed forth upon his hearers, and was the open window, discovering a large and opulent nature. His manner was mild, earnest, impressive and winsome. The opening sentence of

his well-nigh model letter of acceptance of the call to the pastorate of the Baptist church in Livermore, fairly represents him, and, at the same time serves as a specimen of a certain stateliness of style, common to that time.

Dearly beloved brethren: When I reflect upon the countless expressions of love and tenderness, which have invariably marked your conduct towards me, it cannot but be supposed to produce sensations of gratitude and love; and when I consider that this is the people amongst whom I received my spiritual birth, and that scanty growth in knowledge and understanding which I have attained, I possess feelings towards you which I feel to no other people on earth; the readiness which you have ever manifested to overlook my numberless infirmities and short comings, as well as to cover with a mantle of charity over my manifold errors and crimes, this consideration is far from being the least in encouraging me to hope that my future miscarriages, which I have reason to fear may be many, may be as kindly overlooked as have been my past.

In this spirit he commenced his public life as pastor of this flock, and in this spirit his labors were prosecuted for nearly eight years, when he felt constrained, for reasons upon which he freely conferred with the brethren, to ask for a release from his pastoral obligations. This was granted, but as his resignation was not offered with a view to another pastorate already in sight, the brethren requested him to supply them, as he might be able. This he cheerfully did, till, all unexpectedly, in the winter of 1810, he was invited by Elder Green, of North Yarmouth, who was then laid aside by illness, to visit him, and supply for a time. Soon both the brethren and the aged pastor desired him to take charge of the church.

In June, 1810, he removed his family to North Yarmouth, and in September following accepted the call of the church to be a "colleague with Elder Green." This associated relationship was sustained till the death of Mr. Green, in May, 1814. After this event, he remained as sole pastor about one and a half years. Having concluded his labors in North Yarmouth, he removed to New Sharon, where he spent the remainder of his life, a little less than thirty years.

Why he selected New Sharon as his home is not known. It is clear that he did not go there to be pastor. As the farm he purchased was bounded on the north and south by farms belonging to some of his kindred, it is probable that family considerations determined his choice of locality. But he was not to continue as a mere farmer, or as a farmer and an occasional supply of destitute churches. He was soon called to the pastorate of the New Sharon church. The formal expression of the call is very unique. It opens with a somewhat extended recital of the New Testament teaching as to church building, and then says:—

> The church of Christ in this place has never been favored with the gift of a pastor, but as the providence of God has given you a residence among us, and having had opportunity of a personal acquaintance with you, and with your public improvements, we consider your removal among us as a favor in divine providence, and we take this early opportunity of inviting you to the pastoral office in this church, to which you were unanimously invited by a vote of the church, the sixteenth instant.

The call was accepted and the pastoral relation thus formed continued for twenty-nine years, when

it was dissolved by death. During the last five years, he had an associate. During most of this long period, he preached half of the time in New Sharon and the other half in neighboring towns. He was regarded as the father of the New Sharon church, and as it had never had a pastor till now, though it had been in existence fourteen years, the long period of his oversight must have knit pastor and people very closely together. It was a most impressive sight, this servant of Jesus Christ at the age of full eighty years, with his large frame, long, thin, white hair, his most benignant, speaking countenance leading the devotions of the people, whom he had served in this most joyous and sacred fellowship for a quarter of a century, and expounding to them the word of the eternal God. Though called late into public life, he was permitted to preach the gospel with regularity for thirty-eight years.

In theology, Mr. Boardman was a Calvinist. As a preacher, he was simple, instructive, illustrative, often pungent. In his pastoral gifts he was happy. He was very accessible. The young did not shrink from his approach. He had a warm, genial side, rather he was, on all sides, genial and warm, and his presence was welcome in all homes. He was a sweet savor of Christ in his intercourse with his people. In the home of sorrow, to the troubled soul, he was the sympathizing friend, the judicious counsellor.

Mr. Boardman had larger relations than those of the parish, as every true Christian minister has. In 1808, he was elected " town minister," but he did not serve

in this capacity. The presumption is that he did not believe in official town ministers. He had become a Baptist, and Baptists could do nothing that encouraged the idea of a state religion. Yet he was a citizen, and well bore the responsibilities of citizenship. He was a member of society, and, as such, discharged his duty. He was a public man, and on this account all relations were somewhat peculiar. Religious work for any, he was always ready to do. Wherever he was, he contributed largely to good feeling and to good cheer. Rich in most innocent humor, ready with the pleasant word, the fitting incident, the relevant story, quick at repartee, he was good company.

He was deeply interested in educational and reformatory movements. In the establishment and early administration of Waterville college, now Colby University, he bore a not inconsiderable part. For several years he was a member of its board of trustees. He put himself on record again and again on the two great evils, the rum traffic and American slavery. On the fourth of July, 1832, when he was seventy-five years old, he gave an address upon temperance, advanced in thought, earnest in spirit, severe in arraignment. In the same address he fitly characterized the other heinous crime of our country and age, American slavery. He took a great interest in another very important matter, then little thought upon, now gaining wide attention; what may be called the peace question. He hailed with great joy all reasonable advocacy of the abolishment of war and commended all well directed efforts to promote peace principles and

peace organizations. In his thinking and convictions and utterances on questions of public concern he was in advance of his time, showing deep penetration, a grasp of principles, a recognition of the relation of Christianity to the well being of the individual and the community, on the earthly, ethical, and sociological sides. This is to say, that he was a strong force for all righteousness among men, and this was possible because he was cast in a large mold and possessed of great moral and intellectual powers; because, also, and largely, grace achieved a wonderful conquest over him, constraining to a life devoted to God, lived as in the sight of God, and submitted to the guidance of God. With the divine allying itself to one of such native endowments, great steadiness of purpose, consistency of service, and patience of hope were to be expected. He could calmly and faithfully rebuke wrong in the individual. He could accept disaster and loss and move steadily on in the performance of appointed tasks. He could cheerfully give a son to go far hence to the Gentiles, in days when missionary service was perilous to the last degree, and prosecuted only at great cost; and when the tidings of that son's death, as the result of his devotion, came, after a moment's pause he could say, "I wish I had another son to send in his place." He thus exhibited the temper and state indicated by words used by himself to describe his feelings immediately after grace had subdued and gained him: "Everything on earth dwindled into absolute insignificance, and God was all in all." From that time till the end, grace had a quiet and blessed

mastery over him. And the end came not till there had come great mellowness of character, fruitfulness in service, and a conscious readiness, a positive longing for the rest and the fellowship which awaited him.

This was clearly indicated by the text he chose for his funeral service, "Having a desire to depart and be with Christ." In this spirit, at the age of eighty-seven years and six months, he was gathered to his fathers, March 16, 1845. Mrs. Boardman survived him fifteen and a half years, dying in Bloomfield, September 23, 1860, aged ninety-one years and ten months.

There were born to Mr. and Mrs. Boardman eight children, three sons and five daughters. All were born in Livermore, in what is there known as the Boardman house. Of these children, three, a son and two daughters, died in infancy. Harriet, one of the five daughters who lived to grow up, died at the age of twenty. Sarah Phipps married Captain Andrews Blanchard, of North Yarmouth, and lived to the age of eighty-four years. She was a woman of stately figure, large endowments and of very unusual intelligence; suited to a conspicuous place in most cultivated circles, but too retiring and self depreciatory to allow herself to take that place. The oldest son to grow up, was Holmes Allen Boardman. He was a man of large physique, of most genial temper, of rare business capacity, especially for the service of others, of high moral standards, of loyal, Christian purpose. He was the wise counsellor of young people, having their confidence as very few men do; in mature life almost constantly the occupant of business positions of trust,

and the servant of his town in its most important concerns. He was, for many years, a devoted officer of the Baptist church in New Sharon. The death of Deacon Boardman, October 18, 1846, at the age of forty-nine years, was not only a sad bereavment to his immediate family, and the entire circle of his near kindred, but a great loss to the church and community. It is not extravagant to say that he was foremost among the able and good men of the town in which he lived; the open friend of all good causes.

The youngest child was a daughter named Frances Green, who married Joseph Bullen of New Sharon. She still lives, having her home in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, and having attained unto the age of eighty-five years and nine months. The peculiar relations sustained to her by the writer of this sketch, forbid more than the simple word that to him, whatever goes to make up true womanhood and motherhood finds embodiment and expression in her.

It remains to speak of a son, who secured a conspicuous place in the Christian world.

George Dana Boardman was born February 8, 1801. He was the third son and sixth child of his parents, as was his father. He was never robust, but after three or four years enjoyed good health, till during his student days. Overwork then resulted in the serious impairment of his vigor. Probably he never afterwards was fully established in health. He was of light complexion, erect, tall, even to six feet and one and a half inches, spare, and dignified in bearing. Like his father, he had a fondness for stories and abil-

ity to tell them, and was very quick at repartee. At twelve years of age, his purpose was fully formed to have a collegiate education, even though it should be of necessity postponed till after his majority, and the expense of it be devolved wholly upon himself. His father's removal from Livermore to North Yarmouth was favorable for the education of the children, as the place offered the superior advantages of an academy. George made the most of these advantages. At the age of eighteen, having spent considerable time on the farm, and some time teaching school, he found himself at the door of Waterville college, to be admitted to advanced standing; one of the two who constituted the first graduating class.

During his college course he became interested in Christian missions, and when the tidings came of the death of James Coleman, in Arracan, he made the decision to give himself to missionary work in Burma. He spent a year in study at the Andover Theological seminary, and was ordained at North Yarmouth, President Chaplin of Waterville college, preaching the sermon from the text, "I will go in the strength of the Lord God;" Psalms, 71: 16.

July 4, 1825, Mr. Boardman was married to Miss Sarah B. Hall, a gifted, cultivated, consecrated woman. On the twenty-fifth of the same month, they sailed from Philadelphia for Calcutta, en route for Burma. They reached Calcutta, December 2, 1825. Here they were detained on account of the war then raging between the British and the Burmese. They at once gave themselves earnestly to the study of the Burmese

language, and, in connection with the English Baptist missionaries there, to Christian labors for the English residents in the vicinity of Calcutta. It was about a year and a half before Mr. Boardman was permitted to engage in missionary work among the heathen, and then for only a brief period, less than four years. But these were years of unceasing activity, in spite of great perils, sore trials, and exhausting hardships; years of heroic devotion and of great achievements. He established a station in Maulmain, Burma, which has been a central point for missionary operations in all the succeeding years. After ten months of toil there, he founded a mission in Tavoy, where he wrought for Burmans and the rude, subject race of the Karens. Few Burmans heard him, but a marvelous work was accomplished for the Karens, and a mighty impulse was given to the awakening interest in missions in his native land. George Dana Boardman, rightly styled, "the Apostle to the Karens," went from the very midst of his toils and their glorious results to his reward, February 11, 1831.

SKETCHES OF THE LIVES OF EARLY MAINE MINISTERS.

BY WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON.

Presented to the Maine Historical Society, with an Introduction by Joseph Williamson, December 10, 1891.

[CONTINUED.]

REVEREND SAMUEL CHANDLER.

Reverend Samuel Chandler, Harvard College, 1735, the successor of Reverend Joseph Moody, was ordained early in the year 1742, the second settled minister in the second parish of York. It being believed at length by him that he could do as well in another place, and by his people that another minister might please and profit them as much, the relation between them was by mutual consent terminated in 1752, and he was shortly afterward installed at Gloucester in Massachusetts.

REVEREND MOSES MORRILL.

Reverend Moses Morrill, Harvard College, 1713, was ordained September 29, 1742, the second settled minister of Biddeford, and the successor of the excellent and long lamented Mr. Willard. He was a native of Salisbury, Massachusetts, and was licensed to preach some time before he became of lawful age. He was the descendant of Abraham Morrill, who died at that place in 1662, and whose son or grandson, Jacob, represented his town in 1689 in the general court. The latter was probably the grandfather of Isaac Morrill, who settled in the ministry May 20, 1741, at Wil-

mington, and Moses, the subject of this sketch, who were classmates; the former born in 1718, and the latter in 1722. Isaac's son Samuel, Harvard College, 1766, was the father of Governor David L. Morrill, and Judge Samuel Morrill, of New Hampshire.

Reverend Moses Morrill, December 1, 1743, married Hannah, the third daughter of Captain Samuel Jordan, of Saco. Another of his daughters married Reverend Ivory Hovey, of Rochester and Plymouth; a third, Reverend Samuel Hill, Marshfield; and their mother, when a widow, married Reverend Thomas Smith, of Falmouth. Reverend Mr. Morrill had thirteen children, several of whom survived him, their descendants being among the best people in Saco and Biddeford. He died, after an extended ministry, on the ninth of February, 1778, at the age of fifty-six years.

It is worthy of remark that in a few years after his settlement the church voted to have Doctor Watts' version of hymns used on sacramental occasions; and hence they, and his Psalms, at a subsequent period, took the place of all others. He was an enjoyed and evangelical preacher. About the time he was ordained there was a great religious revival, which extended throughout New England. It was supposed to have been promoted by the celebrated Reverend George Whitefield, who came into Maine in 1744. Some of the ministers favored him, others opposed him. While Reverend Mr. Hovey of Arundel was of the latter, Mr. Morrill was of the former class. During his ministry, in June, 1762, Biddeford was divided, and all on

the easterly side of the river was incorporated into a district by the name of Pepperellborough (altered to Saco, 1805) and the people became also a separate religious society, and were his parishioners no more. Reverend Mr. Greenleaf speaks of Mr. Morrill's ministry as having been "extended happily, usefully and peacefully for a little more than thirty-five years." Before his death he declined about a year, and was confined nine or ten weeks. In his pulpit he never aimed to exhibit so much the flash of genius as of reason's rays. Nor did he strive to soar with an eagle's flight above the capacities of his hearers; he preached common sense to common minds, and when he spake of divine grace his tongue dropped sweetness and his heart melted.

REVEREND JOHN WIGHT.

Reverend John Wight, Harvard College, 1721, from Dedham, Massachusetts, was ordained in December, 1743, the first settled minister of Windham, a church of six members being embodied at the same time. His great-grandfather was probably Thomas Wight, of Dedham, who had sons, Samuel and Ephraim, born in 1639 and 1645. Windham, originally New Marblehead, was first settled in 1735. The proprietors adopted early measures to procure and support a minister of the gospel, for the whole number of settlers at the time of Mr. Wight's ordination "did not probably exceed twenty-five heads of families." He received in settlement a lot of land and thirty-five pounds in money, but only thirty pounds annual sal-

ary. To his little flock he continued to preach until his death, which occurred May 8, 1753. He was a very worthy man, of useful talents, and his ministerial labors were not without good fruits. A town in its inceptive settlement often acquires a character from the public religious instruction its inhabitants receive, which many years will not change. The christian reputation of Windham has long been amongst its greatest attractions to draw people within its borders.

HALLOWELL RECORDS.

COMMUNICATED BY DR. W. B. LAPHAM.

[Continued from page 107.]

Daniel Magoon, son of Benjamin and Elizabeth Magoon, was born at Kingston, Newhampshire, January 11, 1783, married Phebe, daughter of William and Sarah Haskell of Harpswell, came to Hallowell with his family March 26, 1810. Their children are:—

Abigail, b. July 1806, in Litchfield.
Woodman, b. Dec. 12, 1807; in Litchfield.
Sally, b. Oct. 1809, in Litchfield.
Charles Vaughn, b. Aug. 19, 1810, in Hallowell.
Syrene, b. Mar. 28, 1812.
Phebe, b. Jan. 11, 1814.
Elizabeth, b. Feb. 29, 1816.

John Morrill, son of John and Elizabeth Morrill, was born in Boscawen, state of Newhampshire. Came to Hallowell. Mar-

ried Nabby, daughter of Daniel and Mehitable Stevens of Hallowell. Their children are:—

Milenda, b. June 19, 1819.
Mary, b. Apr. 12, 1802.
Sally Beady, b. Aug. 14, 1804.
Hiram, b. July 26, 1806.
Abigail, b. July 20, 1808.
John Hiram, b. July 4, 1813.

Mrs. Nabby Morrill died Dec. 23, 1817, of consumption.

Henry D. Morrill, brother to the above named John Morrill, was born June 10, 1780. Came to Hallowell, November 1801, married Nancy, daughter of Daniel and Mehitable Stevens of Hallowell. Their children are:—

Jeremiah, b. Sept. 16, 1805.
Henry, b. May 3, 1807.
Elizabeth, b. Apr. 4, 1809.
Lomira, b. Apr. 21, 1811.
Nancy, b. May 5, 1815; d. May 26, 1817.
Melinda, b. Mar. 31, 1817; d. Apr. 30, 1818.

Benjamin Morrill, brother to the above John and Henry D., was born ——, married Susanna daughter of David Clement of Canterbury, state of Newhampshire. Their children are:—

Betsey, b. Oct. 25, 1792, in Canterbury.
David, b. Aug. 7, 1797.
Hutchins, b. Apr. 27, 1799.
Amos, b. Feb. 25, 1804.
Emeline, b. Feb. 1810, in Hallowell.

Mr. Benjamin Morrill, died Feb. 1812.

The children of John and Mary Hayden born in Hallowell viz:

Samuel, b. Apr. 11, 1806.
Henry, b. July 22, 1808.
Angela, b. Aug. 6, 1810.
Euphelia, b. Dec. 24, 1812.

Mr. Hayden with his family moved from Hallowell to Castine.

James Bates, son of Solomon Bates, Esq., of Fayette and Mary his wife was born in Green, county of Kennebec, September 24, 1789, married Mary, daughter of Sylvester and Lydia Jones of

said Fayette, July 27, 1815. Settled in Hallowell as a physician and surgeon September 8, 1813. Their children are :—

Mary Ann Crossman, b. July 24, 1816.
Lydia Crossman Jones, b. Jan. 18, 1818.

Alfred Martin, son of Thomas and Anne Martin was born in Lebanon, state of Connecticut July 26, 1767, came to Hallowell to settle October 26, 1788. In 1796, married Lydia, daughter of Isaac and Alice Clark of Hallowell. Their children are :—

Maria, b. June 1, 1797; d. Mar. 30, 1807.
Cordelia, b. July 26, 1799.
Alfred, b. Aug. 24, 1802.
Julia, b. Dec. 13, 1804.
Emily, b. Nov. 21, 1807.
Clarissa Maria, b. Aug. 15, 1810.
Joseph Henry, b. July 27, 1816.

Samuel Sumner Wilde, born in Taunton, in the county of Bristol, State of Massachusetts, February 5, 1771, was the son of Daniel Wilde and Anna Sumner his wife. Samuel S. Wilde was graduated at Dartmouth College in 1789, and having finished his professional studies in his native town commenced the practice of law in Waldoborough, in the county of Lincoln, district of Maine; from which place he removed to Warren, in the same county, and afterwards in 1799, came to this place. In 1815 he was appointed a judge of the supreme judicial court. He married Eunice Cobb, who was born November 18, 1775, daughter of David Cobb and Eleanor Bradish his wife. Their children are :—

William Cobb, b. Sept. 2, 1792, in Taunton.
Eunice, b. June 15, 1794, in Waldoboro.
Samuel Sumner, b. Sept. 27, 1796, in Warren, d. Nov. 3, 1815.
Eleanor Bradish, b. Aug. 4, 1798, in Warren.
George Cobb, b. Dec. 13, 1800, in Hallowell.
Caroline, b. Apr. 26, 1802; in Hallowell.
Henry Jackson, b. Apr. 6, 1804, in Hallowell.
Isaac Parker, b. Feb. 27, 1808, in Hallowell.
Anne Sumner, b. Dec. 31, 1809, in Hallowell.

Nathaniel Perley, son of Nathaniel and Mehitable Perley was born in Boxford, county of Essex, Massachusetts March 22, 1763, graduated at Dartmouth College 1791, admitted to the practice

of law 1794, came to this town with the intention of settling 1795, married Mary, daughter of Richard and Judith Dummer who was born in Newbury in the parish of Byfield. Their children are :—

George Dummer, b. June 18, 1797; d. ——.
Mary, b. Sept. 2, 1699.
Loisa P., b. Nov. 2, 1801.
Henry Augustus, b. Apr. 16, 1804; d. July 1, 1806.
Nat Henry, b. Sept. 5, 1806; d. Jan. 22, 1811.
Richard, b. May 24, 1809.
Caroline Augusta, b. July 19, 1811; d. Feb. 1850.

Mrs. Mary Perley died January 7, 1838.

Eliphalet Gilman, son of Jonathan and Elizabeth Gilman, was born in Exeter, April 11, 1745, married Joanna, daughter of John and Anna Louge of Exeter, April, 1767, came with his family to this town 1785. Their children are :—

Eliphalet, b. Feb. 17, 1768.
Gideon, b. Mar. 29, 1770.
Nancy, b. Sept. 22, 1772.
Lucy, b. Nov. 27, 1774; d. Aug. 21, 1805.
Therasa, b. Oct. 11, 1776; d. Apr. 26, 1802.
Ephraim, b. July 12, 1778.
Ezra, b. Aug. 10, 1780.
Zadok, b. Dec. 15, 1783.
Sally, b. Apr. 18, 1786, in Hallowell.

Mrs. Joanna Gilman, died October 12, 1810, and Mr. Gilman married Sarah, daughter of John and Alice Odlen of Exeter, who was the widow relict of John Fowle of Exeter.

David Bricket, son of Moses and Sally Brickett, was born in Newbury, county of Essex, February 20, 1774, married Betsey, daughter of Josiah and Rebecca Wyer of Livermore, January 3, 1812, came to reside in this town May 14, 1813. Their children are :—

William Henry, b. Feb. 3, 1814.

PROCEEDINGS.

FEBRUARY 26, 1891.

A meeting of the Society was held in the library room in Portland, and was called to order at 3 P.M., the President in the chair.

The Librarian read his quarterly report of accessions to the library and cabinet. The conduct of Paul Revere in the Penobscot expedition was the title of a paper by Joseph Williamson, of Belfast, and was read by William M. Sargent. Reverend Henry S. Burrage read a paper on the Simancas map of 1610 and its bearing on Waymouth's voyage to the coast of Maine, recently published in Brown's Genesis of the United States.

Reverend Charles F. Allen, D. D., read a tribute to the memory of his honored father, William Allen, the historian of Norridgewock.

Adjourned until evening. The evening session was called to order at 7.30 by the President.

General John Marshall Brown read a translation which had been prepared for the Society by Professor Frederic M. Warren, of extracts from the letters of the Jesuit missionary, Father Biard, written from the coast of Maine in 1611. General Brown supplied the introduction to these letters, giving a bibliographical account of their publication.

Mr. James P. Baxter read a paper on Captain Christopher Levett, of York, England, who may properly

be considered as the pioneer colonist of Casco Bay and the first settler of Portland.

The customary votes of thanks were passed and the meeting adjourned.

MAY 9, 1891.

Meeting called to order at 3 P.M. The President in the chair. Dr. James A. Spalding, read some extracts from an original MS. journal, giving an account of an expedition by a vessel of the United States navy to the coast of Africa in 1843 to punish the natives for the murder of Captain Farwell of Vassalboro, Maine. Mr. Baxter read a communication addressed to Mr. Joseph Williamson by Honorable Horatio King, concerning the Oxford County Lyceum, formed in Paris, Maine, nearly sixty years since. The communication called forth extended remarks from Messrs. George F. Talbot, George F. Emery, and others concerning the usefulness of these lyceums and debating societies throughout New England.

Reverend Henry O. Thayer read some extracts from his forthcoming volume to be published by the Gorges Society, concerning the colonists of Sagadahoc in 1607.

Attention was called to the circular of invitation received from the Royal Historical Society of Montreal, requesting delegates to its celebration and exercises at Montreal on the twenty-seventh instant, and the President was requested to be present to represent the Society.

Hon. J. H. Drummond presented a MS. Bibliography of the Laws of the State of Maine which he

had prepared, and it was accepted with a vote of thanks.

It was voted that Mr. Leonard B. Chapman, of Deering, serve as a committee of the Society to supervise the publication of volumes seven and eight of the York Deeds.

A fine photograph portrait of the late William Mitchell Sargent was presented as the gift of Mrs. W. M. Sargent for which a vote of thanks was tendered her. Adjourned until evening.

The evening session was called to order at 8 P. M. Mr. George F. Emery was appointed Chairman. Mr. H. W. Bryant read some extracts from the fragmentary diary of the Reverend Joseph Moody, of York, Maine, 1720–23; owned by the Society.

Honorable Percival Bonney read a paper on the lives of Elder John Tripp and Deacon William Barrows and their services in the Revolution and to Hebron academy. The customary votes of thanks were passed and copies requested for the archives. Adjourned until the annual meeting at Brunswick.

Annual Meeting, June 24, 1891.

The annual meeting was held in Massachusetts Hall, Brunswick, June 24, 1891, and was called to order at 9 A.M. by the president, Mr. Baxter.

The following members were present: Messrs. Charles E. Allen, Charles F. Allen, F. R. Barrett, James W. Bradbury, John M. Brown, H. W. Bryant, H. S. Burrage, J. L. Chamberlain, H. L. Chapman, J. P. Cilley, Josiah Crosby, Henry Deering, F. M. Drew,

John O. Fiske, C. J. Gilman, T. H. Haskell, J. W. Hathaway, S. T. Humphrey, Henry Johnson, W. B. Lapham, L. A. Lee, George T. Little, H. K. Morrell, G. C. Moses, E. B. Nealley, Lewis Pierce, R. K. Sewall, H. O. Thayer, George A. Wheeler, Joseph Williamson and S. J. Young.

The records of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

The annual report of the Librarian and Cabinet Keeper, Mr. H. W. Bryant, was read by him, and was accepted. The additions to the library for the past year amounted to two hundred and fifty bound volumes, twelve hundred and seventy-two pamphlets and a large number of unbound newspapers.

The annual report of the Corresponding Secretary, Mr. Joseph Williamson, was read by him and was accepted.

The following were reported as not having accepted their election as resident members:—

George W. Drisko,	Machias.
William H. Fenn,	Portland.
Edward F. Webb,	Waterville.
William R. French,	Turner.
Augustus C. Hamlin,	Bangor.
Fabius M. Ray,	Westbrook.
John L. Crosby,	Bangor.
Henry W. Wheeler,	Brunswick.
Peter E. Vose,	Dennysville.

The annual report of the Treasurer, Mr. Lewis Pierce, was read and accepted. Also the report of the Biographer, Mr. Williamson.

The following resident members died during the past year.

Edward Henry Elwell,	Woodfords.
William Mitchell Sargent,	Portland.
Noah Woods,	Bangor.

The annual reports of the doings of the Standing Committee and by the Publication Committee were made and were accepted.

It having been announced that Mr. Lewis Pierce had declined a renomination as Treasurer of the Society, on motion of Rev. Dr. Burrage, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Pierce for his gratuitous and faithful services as Treasurer of this Society for the past ten years.

The following were duly elected :—

President—Mr. James P. Baxter.

Vice President—Mr. R. K. Sewall.

Corresponding Secretary and Biographer. } Mr. Joseph Williamson.

Treasurer—Mr. Philip Henry Brown.

Recording Secretary, Librarian, Cabinet Keeper. } Mr. H. W. Bryant.

Standing Committee.

William B. Lapham.
Joseph Williamson.
Henry S. Burrage.
Henry L. Chapman.
James W. Bradbury.
John Marshall Brown.
Edward P. Burnham.

A ballot of fifty-two names having been duly nominated, and the same sent to each resident member two weeks prior to the annual meeting, the same

ballot was offered to the members present by the President with some prefactory remarks.

After some discussion the votes were taken. Messrs. Pierce and Deering were appointed a committee to collect and assort the ballots.

The following names were then reported as having received three-fourths of the votes in the affirmative and were elected as resident members.

Samuel Clifford Belcher,	Farmington.
George P. Barrett,	Portland.
George A. Emery,	Saco.
Charles S. Fobes,	Portland.
Enoch Foster,	Bethel.
Benjamin N. Goodale,	Saco.
Clarence Hale,	Portland.
William C. Hatch,	West Mills.
Shailer Mathews,	Waterville.
Joseph E. Moore,	Thomaston.
Augustus F. Moulton,	Portland.
Daniel E. Owen,	Saco.
Samuel T. Pickard,	Portland.
Frederic Robie,	Gorham.
Edward Woodman,	Portland.

The following were elected corresponding members:—

John L. Cutler,	Georgia.
Frederic M. Warren,	Ohio.
Samuel Adams Drake,	Massachusetts.

On motion of John Marshall Brown it was voted that candidates for resident membership must be nominated in writing by a member of the Society, setting forth the claims of the candidate for membership and giving the names also of two references. Such nominations to be filed with the recording sec-

retary one month prior to the annual meeting. The member presenting the name of the candidate to guarantee that election would be accepted.

The proposition on the part of the trustees of the Portland Public Library to relinquish Baxter Hall in the library building, as an exchange for the main room now occupied for the Society's library, was discussed by Messrs. Bradbury, Moses, Burrage, Brown and Haskell, and finally laid upon the table.

Mr. Williamson made the motion that Article I, Chapter II of the by-laws be so amended, that the annual meeting hereafter be held in Portland and after a warm discussion by Messrs. Lapham, Moses, Fiske, Sewall, Haskell and Crosby, was also laid upon the table.

It was voted that the field day excursion of this year be made to Bath and to Point Popham, and Messrs Henry O. Thayer, Charles E. Nash, Joshua L. Douglas were appointed the committee of arrangements.

Adjourned.

AN OMISSION.

The author of the "Sketch of the Life of General La Fayette, with an account of his visit to Maine," published in Volume 3, Second Series, page 57, was the late Hon. William Goold, of Windham, Maine. The author's name was omitted by mistake.

LOT M. MORRILL.

LOT M. MORRILL.

SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES.

BY GEORGE FOSTER TALBOT.

Read at the meeting of the Maine Historical Society, March 22, 1894.

Lot Myrick Morrill, who filled successively the offices of governor of Maine, United States senator, and secretary of the treasury, and by his ability and valuable public services earned high distinction in each of those conspicuous employments, was born in Belgrade, in the county of Kennebec and state of Maine, May 3, 1815. His father was Peaseley Morrill, and his mother was Nancy (Macomber) Morrill; and this couple won for themselves the rare good fortune of giving to their native state two sons, each of whom filled in succession the gubernatorial chair.

Peaseley Morrill might well be taken as a type of those hardy and energetic pioneers, who found this new state a wilderness, and transmitted it to their descendants, enriched with the blessings of our advanced civilization. Enterprising, freehanded, public-spirited, intensely devoted to the rising fortunes of the young commonwealth, which a successful revolution had just established in this new world, he was imbued with the spirit of his age, and contributed the force of his own character to shape the tendencies of that age. In 1797, he appears to have been enrolled

as a citizen of the territory of Augusta, then included within the limits of the old town of Hallowell. Sometime later than that year he removed to what became the town of Belgrade and bought a farm there. There was born to him a family of seven sons and seven daughters, the intellectual and moral quality of which may be inferred from the traits of the two, whose public career made them conspicuous.

The various vocations, which the primitive New England life in the earlier period of the present century made necessary, gave ample employment to capable and ambitious youths, and an excellent, if not conspicuous, field in which to train and exercise the native force of their characters. Young Morrill attended the common school, and passing rapidly through its rudimentary curriculum, was, while quite young, promoted to the academy—one of those admirable and fruitful institutions, which his little town, like many other of the precincts of Maine, had been careful to provide itself with in the very infancy of its settlement. It must, however, be kept in mind, that the son of a poor farmer with a family of fourteen to support, can enjoy the luxury of books only in the intervals of cessation from bodily toil, imposed everywhere as the very condition of life. As soon as he was old enough, the boy was detailed alternately to man the sawmill and to tend the general store; for a thrifty settler, in order to make both ends meet, must eke out the scanty income of the farm, with the small profits of a retail trade, and with such rude manufacture, for which the surrounding forest supplied

abundant raw material, as his slender capital can establish.

When he was thirteen years old, young Lot was taken by his father to Augusta to attend court. In the rarity of public spectacles, and when the Sunday sermons and the weekly prayer-meeting afforded a working community nearly its only intellectual entertainment, the proceedings of courts, quite as decorous and orderly as they are now, were wonderfully attractive to the few intelligent people of the vicinage that could afford themselves a half-day's leisure, and intensely stimulating to bright and ambitious boys.

On this occasion there had been a breaking in the night time into the house of one of the neighbors, and a stealing therefrom of a considerable sum in silver coins. Suspicion fell upon three young men—probably well known to both father and son—and they had been arrested and taken to Augusta, presumably before a magistrate. Samuel Wells of Hallowell, afterwards a judge of the supreme court and governor of the state, was employed as their counsel, and conducted the defense with such admirable ability, tact and courtesy, that the farmer's son found his ardent imagination quite carried captive; and he formed then and there the purpose to make himself a lawyer. Of all employments, it seemed to him that that of the advocate, who stands before the tribunals of justice to defend the rights and liberties of his fellow men, is the noblest. From this time he pursued his studies with increased diligence, and advanced in learning with the impetus which a definite purpose

always gives. To supply the necessary expenses of his education, he taught school, beginning his engagement in his own district and winning honor in it, in spite of that proverb, which the highest authority has approved. At eighteen he entered college in the neighboring town of Waterville. The expenses of a college course, though at that time and place very small, were too great to be met by the scanty income of a Kennebec farmer; so the young man took his fortunes in his hands, and was able to make an engagement as principal of a select private school in the western part of the state of New York, and remained there for a year. Like many other spirited lads, he took a short cut; left college without drifting through the regular routine to graduation, and, with such intellectual outfit as the partial course and the discipline of teaching gave him, began the study of law in the office of Judge Fuller of Readfield. Timothy Howe, of Wisconsin, so long his associate in the United States senate, was his fellow-student, and they left the office of their teacher to begin the practice of law at the same time in the town of Readfield—Mr. Howe finding clients mainly among his friends, the Whigs, and Mr. Morrill among the Democrats.

Mr. Morrill was twenty-four years old when he was admitted to the bar in the year 1839. During his legal novitiate he had mastered the art of public speaking, and the faculty, of such value to public men, of thinking upon his feet. Ardent in feeling, fluent in speech, alert to seize the strong points of any question, he found abundant themes for forensic elo-

quence in the political questions rife in the state and country, between the Whigs on the one hand, and the Democrats, to whom his heredity prepossessions attracted him, on the other hand; and in the temperance debate, in which the people of Maine have always taken a keen interest, and to the radical side of which he always adhered with unswerving devotion.

Readfield soon became a too narrow field for his professional activity, and in 1841 Mr. Morrill removed to Augusta, where soon afterward he formed a law partnership with Senator James W. Bradbury and Judge Richard D. Rice. Never were his taste and ambition more completely gratified than during these few years that immediately preceded the beginning of his official life. He was engaged in many cases of magnitude both in his own and in other counties of the state; and his frequent employment before legislative committees introduced him to the prominent men of the state, familiarized him with the details of legislation and administration, and was the best tuition for the political career in which he gained his brightest laurels, in the larger public service at Washington.

While his employments were by inclination and fortune for several years almost exclusively professional, Mr. Morrill's political opinions were too pronounced for him to keep out of the field of practical politics. His county and his town under the assiduous instructions of the patriotic and industrious editor of the Kennebec Journal, Luther Severance, had few honors and fewer salaries to bestow upon an ardent Democrat, but the consideration in which Mr. Morrill

was held by those of his own faith was attested by the fact that he was chairman of the state Democratic committee from 1849 to 1856.

In 1853, much to his own surprise, he was nominated and elected a member of the House from Augusta, and was held in such esteem by his fellow members that he was voted for as United States senator against the Whig candidate, William Pitt Fessenden, who gained the election through the support of the Free Soilers, who happened to hold the balance of power. After two years' service in the House, Mr. Morrill was elected to the state senate, and was at once made its presiding officer. He especially distinguished himself in that body by the able speeches he made against the removal by address of Judge Woodbury Davis, and against the repeal of the prohibitory law, toward which had occurred a strong reaction.

It had long been the practice of the dominant party to introduce into each branch of the legislature resolutions affirmative of its distinctive doctrines, and in support of its special public policy, by way of declaring its allegiance to the national organization, and keeping itself in the strict line of political orthodoxy. During the session of 1855, resolutions, intended to pledge the Democrats of Maine to some farther concessions to the tolerance of slavery in the territories, had been, in accordance with this practice, introduced into the Maine senate. When they came up for discussion, Mr. Morrill left the chair and made a speech in fiery protest against this new departue, indicating in the plainest terms that if the issue came between

his party attachment and his hostility to the slave system, the ties of party could not be depended on to hold his allegiance. A relative of the present writer, then a member of the senate, and in sympathy with the regular democracy, has described this speech as the most eloquent and moving political address he ever listened to. The writer tried in vain to obtain some notes or record of this speech, but it was probably unwritten and never reported.

Some time before this period the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, promoted principally by Senator Douglas of Illinois, had broken the unity of the Democratic party. The elections of that year, ostensibly under the stimulus of a flash of anti-Catholic, anti-alien sentiment, but really a symptom of moral resentment on the part of thousands of Democrats, who were indignant and alarmed at the new pro-slavery attitude of their party leaders, had gone strongly against the Pierce administration. In Maine the revolt had been strengthened by a desertion to it of the radical temperance men. The coalition thus formed had been able, in 1854, to elect Anson P. Morrill, elder brother of the subject of this sketch, governor on an anti-slavery temperance issue. Though a reaction followed the next year, which made Judge Wells the Democratic candidate governor, it had become evident that the party that had held control of the state almost continuously since its accession to the Union, had lost its majority, and that the elements of opposition had only to unite to relegate it to the minority.

Notwithstanding his opposition to the policy of his

party, Mr. Morrill was again placed upon the state committee; but after the convention at Cincinnati, at which Mr. Buchanan was nominated for president, he declined to attend its meetings, and in a letter written to E. Wilder Farley, thus indicated his purposes: —

> The candidate is a good one, but the platform is a flagrant outrage upon the country and an insult to the North. . . .
>
> Many people in the North will go for all this with their eyes open, for the sake of political power — *there are many who will not.*

This terminated his connection with the party, in whose ranks he had hitherto labored, and placed him squarely with the hosts of conscientious men — Whigs, Democrats and Abolitionists — who cast their fortunes together to make resistance to the spread and domination of the slave power, the sole article of their common political creed, and took for themselves the reputable, if not very descriptive, name of Republican.

Mr. Hamlin, who had earlier than Mr. Morrill taken position in the movement, had been by the enthusiastic new party elected governor in the autumn of 1856, and soon after his inauguration had been sent back to the senate of the United States, so that the Republicans were obliged to provide themselves the year after with a new candidate for governor. There was in some quarters a disposition to select some one whose adherence to the anti-slavery policy had been of older date than Mr. Morrill's, whose hesitation and caution in breaking with his old political associates was regarded as evidence of lack of depth of conviction and of earnestness of adhesion to the purposes of the reformers; but the determination to make the

new movement as catholic and comprehensive as possible, and to recognize the fidelity that had placed patriotism above party allegiance, impelled the convention with great enthusiasm to give Mr. Morrill its nomination, and he was elected and twice re-elected to the gubernational office. Having expressed a wish to vacate his high office, he was January 10, 1861, elected to the senate of the United States, and took his seat in that body on the seventeenth of the same month as the colleague of William Pitt Fessenden.

I have not deemed it necessary in this paper to recapitulate, even briefly, the stupendous events that made the few months that preceded this period memorable in the history of our country and of the world, namely, the election of Lincoln to the presidency early in November of 1860, the unreasonable resentment with which this result, really brought about by themselves, was received by the slave-holding states, and their successive acts of secession, followed by the setting up of a hostile and independent government, the futile efforts made to compromise and postpone the inevitable resort to coercion and war, in which the outgoing, and, for some weeks, the incoming administration wasted their strength and authority, and really fanned the flames of revolt, the insolence of the rebels that culminated in the capture of Fort Sumpter, the sudden and unexpected passion of the aroused North, the rush to arms of the whole arms-bearing population of the two sections, and the stripping of the combatants for the most gigantic contest that ever convulsed the world.

Mr. Morrill was a somewhat conspicuous figure in one of these futile schemes of settlement, which served to divert the northern mind, while the determined *Secessionists* were maturing their plans for a trial of strength with their vastly under-rated opponents. On the nineteenth of January, 1861, the general assembly of Virginia invited commissioners from such states as were disposed to meet commissioners from that state in an effort to adjust "the present unhappy controversies, so as to afford the people of the slave-holding states adequate guaranties for the security of their rights."

What was referred to in this invitation as an "unhappy controversy" was the action of seven slave-holding states in the proceedings toward insurrection against the authority of the national government above mentioned, and the sufficiently moderate and mild remonstrance which these proceedings had called forth from those that represented the national authority.

What seemed to be needed was that the rebellious states, instead of receiving new guarantees for their rights, should be subjected to some coercive treatment for their wrongs, and should give some new guaranties to the Union to remain obedient to its constitution and laws.

The feeling in the state of Maine was that such a conference of commissioners to make new concessions to the slave-holding states, that had wantonly violated solemn acts of settlement made before, especially under the threat of secession and war, was an ignoble

humiliation of the dignity of the government, and there was no disposition to meet the overtures of Virginia by sending a specially elected commission. To go, however, to the utmost verge of forbearance before resorting to coercion — now generally believed by her citizens to be unavoidable — the delegation in Congress were by state authority empowered to act as commissioners, and took their seats in the conference on the sixth day of its session. Mr. Morrill was immediately placed on a committee of one from each represented state to report what measures seemed to be right and proper to restore harmony and to preserve the Union.

During the session of nineteen days various amendments of the constitution to be submitted by Congress to the states were proposed, all more or less strengthening the guarantees of slavery, and the votes of the Maine delegation were steadily and unanimously given against them. In a prolonged and able debate on the twelfth day Mr. Morrill gave this exemplification of his clear-sightedness and of his eloquence: —

> Once for all let me ask these gentlemen who are proposing to settle our differences: Do you propose to make war upon the sentiments and the principles of the North? If you do, we may as well drop the discussion here. Our people and we, their representatives, cannot meet you upon that ground. Our principles cannot be interfered with. We carry them with us always. Our consciences approve them. We can negotiate with you upon subjects which do not involve their sacrifice. If it is your purpose to attack them, you may abandon all other purposes, so far as this body is concerned. The people of the North will never sacrifice their principles. Sir, in my judgment, all such

questions are unworthy our consideration, we spend time to little purpose on them.

The true question is: What will Virginia do? How does Virginia stand? She to-day holds the keys of peace or war. She stands in the gateway threatening the progress of the government, if it attempts to assert its legal authority. Evade it as you may, cover it as you will, the true question is, what will Virginia do? She undertakes to dictate the terms upon which the Union is to be preserved. What will satisfy her? The peril of the time is secession. Six states are already in revolution. A distinct confederacy, a new government, has been already organized within the limits of the United States. Does Virginia to-day frown on these atrocious proceedings? No; so far from that she affirms that these states have a right to do what they have done. She boasts that she has armed her people and raised five millions of money, and that she will use both to prevent the interference of the national government with these states now in revolution. Whether her course will conciliate the free states, whether, under such circumstance, the free states will negotiate with Virginia or others in her position, I leave for others to consider. It is my opinion that the people of this country will first of all demand the recognition of the supremacy of the government.

No action of this conference can be consummated for months — I might almost say for years. Any propositions we may make must go to the people. They must and will take time for consideration. Endeavor to force their action and you must secure the rejection of the terms proposed. While the people are acting, you will have a government, and it must operate. It must operate not upon a section only, but upon the whole country.

During this time does Virginia propose to maintain the position she has assumed—to prevent by force of arms the execution of the laws of the Union in the seceding states? Yes, and we are told her position is one exhibiting the highest patriotism. In my judgment her position is one of menace and not of pacification. If I rightly understand her, nothing that is here proposed will satisfy her even if adopted.

To this appeal Mr. Seddon of Virginia replied: —

Now, if the gentleman wants my private opinion, I will tell him that whether the proposition of the majority of the committee, or her own be adopted here, or by the people, the purpose of Virginia to resist coercion is unchanged and unchangeable.

And Mr. Morrill resumed: —

Then let it be understood that Virginia has spoken; that she makes the Crittenden resolutions her *ultimatum;* that she must have them and all of them, and that nothing else will satisfy her. If Virginia puts her ancient commonwealth across the path of the government, if she stands between the administration and the enforcement of the laws, the performance of its official duty — if this is the manner she proposes to mediate, her mediation will be accepted nowhere. Such I understand to be the position she assumes. It is a position of menace.

Mr. L. E. Chittenden, a member of the peace conference, in his interesting volume, "Recollections of President Lincoln," gives the record of this famous debate, and of an incident interrupting it, that redounds greatly to the courage and self-possession of our senator.

The effective answer to the speech of Mr. Seddon from a northern Republican came from Maine, a state represented in the conference by her congressional delegation. It was made by Lot M. Morrill, one of her senators. His age was about sixty years, his figure rather slight, his manner retiring, and his general appearance (*sic*) somewhat effeminate. There was not a trace of the bully in his composition, not the slightest suspicion of aggressiveness in his character. On the contrary he would have been selected as almost the last man in the conference to become involved in a personal controversy, as one naturally disposed to concession, who would yield much for the sake of peace. He was never an Abolitionist of the extreme type, but was an early Free Soiler and a good representative of his state in her steadfast

opposition to the extension of the territory and of the political influence of slavery. His quiet, peaceful nature was deceptive to strangers; for at the bottom lay a stratum of resolution, which would have carried him to the stake, before he would surrender a natural right or abandon an important principle. His ideas were clear and decided. He possessed great facility in expression and a command of language which qualified him for the discussion of great questions with a power and force seldom excelled in any legislative body.

Although the Republicans had abandoned all expectation of any benefical results from the conference, and were not very attentive to the debate, Senator Morrill had not been many minutes on his feet, before he had a large body of interested auditors His voice, at first low and quiet, gathered volume as he proceeded, until, as he approached the real points in the controversy, his lucid arguments cut like a Damascas blade.

"You tell us," he said, "that our multiplied offenses are more than you can endure; that our unfriendly criticisms of slavery, our obstructions to the surrender of fugitive slaves, our opposition to the admission of Kansas with a constitution that tolerates slavery, justify extreme measures on your part; that although some have left the Union, the states here represented will condone our offenses by one more compromise. But only on one condition, that we consent to write into the fundamental law, that slavery is to be perpetual in the republic, and that any territory with sufficient population, wherever situated, shall, if its people so vote, come into the Union as a slave state, and its status once fixed shall be forever unchangeable.

"We have made compromises before, not one of which was ever broken by the North, but by every one of which the South ultimately refused to abide. You proposed the Missouri Compromise. You solemnly agreed that all the states north of 36° 30′ should be free. How you kept the faith, let Kansas answer! You demanded the Fugitive Slave Act as a condition of preserving the Union. Your demand was conceded, and your slaves have been returned to you by northern hands from under the shadow of Bunker Hill. Now you demand another compromise which changes a

free republic into a slave territory. You say the North must make the concession as the price of union. Must is a word that does not promote a settlement founded upon compromise. If we must, what the ? There is in your proposition of amendment no pledge, no promise on the part of the South. What does the South propose to do? If we assent to the terms, will South Carolina, will the Gulf states return to the Union? Or will the South repeat her history — do as she has always done before — perform her agreement so long as it will serve her interest and then violate"—

At this point Commodore Stockton, one of the delegates from New Jersey, described as a man of powerful physique and imperious manners, rushed toward the speaker with violent and angry gesticultations. "Silence, sir," he shouted. "We will not permit our Southern friends to be charged with bad faith, and with violating an agreement. No black Republican shall"—

"Back to your seat, you bully," exclaimed a stalwart Vermonter, equal in size and superior in strength and activity to the Commodore, who, in spite of a rush of his friends to his aid, was borne to his seat by a wave of genuine Northern indignation at his insolence.

Ex-president John Tyler, presiding over the assembly, brought it at once to quiet by shouting: "Order! Shame on the delegate who would dishonor this conference by violence!"

With a face not flushed, with no apparent quickening of his circulation, without a tremor in his voice, Mr. Morrill took up and completed his eloquent peroration just as if he had not been interrupted.

On the first of March, 1861, the resolutions agreed upon in the peace conference were laid by the vice-president before the senate. In their terms they fairly prohibited slavery in all national territory north of the parallel of 36° 30′, and left the *status* of persons claimed to be slaves in the territory south of that line to be determined by the supreme court.

In other words they reëstablished the Missouri Compromise, under which, and under the decisions of the federal courts slavery had found no difficulty in extending itself close up to and even over the compromise limit. Virginia and several other states, soon to plunge into rebellion, still had senators and representatives in congress who were actively working to promote by legislation the ends their allies, despairing of that resource, were seeking to bring about by arms. Among these senators Mr. Hunter of Virginia moved as an amendment to the peace conference resolutions these words: —

> In all the territory south of said line of latitude slavery of the African race is hereby recognized as existing, and shall not be interfered with by congress, but shall be protected as property by all the departments of the territorial government during its continuance.

The next day, the day preceding the expiration of the thirty-sixth congress, Mr. Morrill made his first speech in the senate, in which he said, speaking of the foregoing proposed amendment: —

> It is a proposition which contemplates the acquisition of territory below 36° 30′, and which is to incorporate into the constitution a recognition of the slavery of the African race. That is the real objection to this proposition. It is to change entirely the fundamental law of the land in regard to slavery. Nobody pretends that the constitution now in express terms, whatever may be its implication, contains a recognition of slavery. Here under the proposition of the senator from Kentucky (Mr. Crittenden) slavery in terms — slavery of the African race — is to be introduced into this constitution; and it is this part of the proposition that senators on this side of the chamber most strenuously protest against.

He then proceeded with the same arguments and in nearly the same language he had used in the debates of the conference, to show the impropriety of Virginia's offering any compromises while her avowed attitude toward the government was one of menace and hostility. Both Mr. Douglas and Mr. Mason, with considerable hauteur, attempted to interrupt and catechise the new member, who had ventured thus early, without previous parliamentary training in congress, to interpose in a debate with the old leaders of the senate; but the self-possession and resources of Mr. Morrill enabled him to come off from the encounter with signal honor to himself.

During the regular session of congress on the fifth of March, 1862, Mr. Morrill spoke at length on a pending bill to confiscate the property and emancipate the slaves of rebels. He said:—

> The great measure before us — and none greater has ever been before the senate — has been characterized in this debate in earnest, eloquent, indignant, and, I think I am authorized to say, satirical speech, as extraordinary, unconstitutional, oppressive and inexpedient. When I freely confess to its opponents, that it does not belong to the ordinary class of legislation, I concede no more than must be confessed of much, that has been done on behalf of the nation here and elsewhere by the national legislature, and the national executive, since our troubles began.
>
> Sir, it had been better that that man had not been born, who shrinks from taking the responsibility, when a distracted and bleeding country requires "the dauntless spirit of resolution." As to the rest — the constitution, I conceive, is the strength and shield of the nation in its hour of peril, and must not be so construed as to hamper honest endeavor in its behalf. Clemency on the lips of an American senator to the malignant enemy of the

republic is cruelty to its friends, and that is expedient, which is demanded for the present safety and future security of free institutions.

The measure, which conferred upon the president the power as commander-in-chief of the army to order the confiscation of the property of certain classes of rebels, and to emancipate their slaves, was antagonized by other and substituted measures of confiscation and emancipation — some of them far more summary and sweeping than this — and applying to the property and slaves, not only of all persons in rebellion, but of all persons in rebel territory, loyal and disloyal. They awarded fines, imprisonment and death as the punishment of treason. But all these measures required that the emancipation, confiscation, fine and execution should follow conviction by a competent court, and be parts of strictly judicial proceedings. There were able lawyers in the senate, like Collamer of Vermont, who could not understand how property could be taken without due process of law, and could not understand how war suspended all the processes of courts. Mr. Morrill expressed with great cogency the delusiveness of such devices. He saw clearly enough that what was needed was not a new criminal code, and new penalties for treason, but new weapons in the hands of the military commanders in the field for combatting the rebellion and depriving it of its resources of resistance. He explained how convictions could only be obtained after the insurrection had been put down by force of arms, and peace had reinstated the civil power; whereas what was wanted was an effective

instrumentality for overthrowing the rebellion by depriving it of its resources, and by taking away in its slaves its very motive and object. Mr. Morrill's ideas on this question were in the exact line by which Mr. Lincoln advanced the next year to the emancipation of all the slaves in the insurrectionary states — after three months' preliminary notice of his purpose — purely as a war measure, a hostile, and not a judicial or even political act, done and ordered by the commander-in-chief in the progress of his campaign, and as a most effective method of effectually prosecuting the war. He virtually orders the destruction of slavery, as he might the destruction of a bridge, or the burning of a forest or a town to dislodge or embarrass the enemy.

The senator's language, in the following extract from his speech, is a remarkable exhibition of his forensic ability, as also of his sagacity and prophetic foreshadowing of the feeling that would pervade the whole country, as soon as the rebellion had been subdued.

Sir, when this rebellion has been put down and suppressed, the arts of peace and the comities of peace will be our duty and our office. We shall not feel then that the time has come to institute a general assize, all over the country in rebellion, for the purpose of punishing by indictment, trial, conviction, sentence, forfeiture of estate. The honorable senator from Vermont gave you an illustration of the effect of such an undertaking when he told you of the fate of Jeffreys, when he undertook, after the suppression of the rebellion in England, to punish those who had been engaged in it. All that is practicable to be done now, and all that ought to be done, should be done with reference to putting down the rebellion; and instead of shirking the

responsibility, instead of passing a bill with provisions to be executed hereafter, instead of throwing upon the president the responsibility of judging what ought to be done, this congress under the constitution — the great war council of the nation — ought to have the manliness to do their duty, and to advise the president, to authorize the president and to direct the president as to what is proper to be done in the premises.

Perhaps no member of congress, during the critical period of his own service in it, worked more assiduously, more intelligently or more effectually in devising, supporting and enacting the important, it may even be called the revolutionary legislation, which a successful civil war, bringing with it, as one of its inevitable results, the complete downfall of the slave system, and its final repudiation as one of the so-called institutions under the protection of the national constitution, made expedient and necessary, than Senator Morrill.

There were among his associates in both branches men of wider and more general classical and general culture — accomplished orators, whose well-turned periods and eloquent perorations never failed to fill the galleries with applauding crowds; self-possessed and fluent off-hand speakers, whose resources of wit and knowledge always brought them off handsomely in fortuitous debates; and adroit party leaders, well-skilled in political tactics, who were versed in all the arts of keeping hosts of admirers vocal with their praises and subservient to the promotion of their personal fortunes. But for that practical service, which in all parliamentary bodies always falls upon the hands of a few expert and conscientious workers,

Mr. Morrill scarcely had a peer. With a legal and judicial mind, he knew what legislation was possible and expedient and adapted to the popular ideas and the existing situation, and how many of the speculations and aspirations of enthusiastic and sentimental reformers dissolve in vapors when poured out in cold statutes. He knew, too, how the limitations imposed by a written constitution and by the reserved rights of states and people confined to comparatively narrow limits the innovations of positive law. It did not take long for the legislators with whom he served to find out his capacity for good though often inconspicuous work, and the cheerful devotion with which he stooped under the burden of it. They did not fail to utilize, without much regard to his strength, the rare faculties they had discovered.

Among other important measures, largely due to his industry, was an act emancipating the slaves in the District of Columbia. As chairman of the committee having such matters in charge, he made a report and introduced a bill, which passed the senate, April 3, 1862, by the decisive vote of twenty-nine to fourteen. It had been debated for many days, and its passage resisted by all the argument and parliamentary artifice a determined minority could command. Mr. Morrill led the debate with great ability and earnestness, speaking much more frequently than any other senator. During a colloquy with Garrett Davis of Kentucky, who had used Scripture, poetry, law and constitution to stem the revolutionary flood that was everywhere sweeping before it the old barriers of

slavery and barbarism, the Maine senator covered himself with honor, not only by the soundness of his constitutional opinions, the validity of his law, the appositeness of his replies, but by the beauty and aptness of the poetic allusions, with which he confounded his adversary. The passage is worth quoting, as it shows how splendidly our senator was equipped to cope with his most eloquent opponents, not only with the weapons of right and justice, but with the graces of rhetoric, and by his familiarity with the great classics of English literature.

The honorable senator says, "Show me a statute on the subject, giving me a right to my horse, which does not give me the same right to my slave." Well, I will refer him to a positive statute on this subject, a statute that I know will command his respect and his veneration: —

"And God blessed them —"

Mr. Davis — Will the honorable senator permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. Morrill — When I have read my authority I will.

"And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth."

The commentary of the great English commentator runs back to that as the origin of the right of property; and here is the obvious distinction between the right of persons and the right of things. Man has dominion over things; he has no dominion over persons —

Mr. Davis — Would the courtesy of the gentleman allow me a word now?

Mr. Morrill — Certainly.

Mr. Davis — I will ask the honorable senator from Maine if he ever knew any property to be recovered in a court of justice upon

that law, or ever knew a claim to property to depend on the law which he has just read, in a court of justice?

Mr. Morrill — We never had any occasion to plead that statute in my part of the country, yet it is always recognized.

I will read from another work which not only recognizes the reasoning of the honorable senator, but recognizes the principle to which I refer. Here is the reasoning of the spirit of evil, as told by the angel Michael to Adam, according to England's great poet. It ran in this wise. He was relating to Adam what should take place after the fall and he says: —

> Till one shall rise
> Of proud, ambitious heart; who, not content
> With fair equality, fraternal state,
> Will arrogate dominion undeserved
> Over his brethren, and quite dispossess
> Concord and law of nature from the earth;
> Hunting (and men, not beasts shall be his game)
> With war and hostile snare such as refuse
> Subjection to his empire tyrannous:
> A mighty hunter thence he shall be styled
> Before the Lord; as in despite of Heaven
> Or from Heaven, claiming second sovereignty;
> And from rebellion shall derive his name
> Though of rebellion others he accuse!

Now let us hear the answer: —

> Whereto thus Adam, fatherly displeased:
> O execrable son! so to aspire
> Above his brethren; to himself assuming
> Authority usurped, from God not given:
> He gave us only over beast, fish, fowl,
> Dominion absolute; that right we hold
> By his donation; but man over man
> He made not lord; such title to himself
> Reserving, human left to human free.

In February, 1863, a bill for the incorporation of an institution for the education of colored youth of the District of Columbia was before the senate. It is hard to see what objection could properly be made to

this mere routine piece of legislation; or why any persons, who proposed to expend their own funds in the education of any class of the people, should be refused an act of incorporation, to promote such an end. The reconstructed state of Virginia had sent to the senate Mr. Carlile, who, with Mr. Davis of Kentucky, and Mr. Cowan of Pennsylvania, and a few others, seemed to represent the old border-state prejudice against colored people. Mr. Carlile said: —

> There has been heretofore a jealousy against creating corporations even for laudable purposes. Why not leave to private enterprise, to the promptings of parental affection, the power of educating the children? Why shall the government undertake to step in between the parent and the child and provide the means of educating the child? Is it not calculated, by relieving the parent of the duties which properly devolve upon him, to make him worthless and careless and neglectful of those duties which nature has imposed upon him? But, before we are called upon to sanction this law I trust some good reason will be given why it is the business of the state to educate the negroes of the country.

Mr. Morrill broke forth in answer to these antiquated ideas in this impulsive strain: —

> Great, gracious God! Has it came to this, that in the American congress, and at this late day, an honorable senator shall rise here and enter his protest against a measure of public, popular education? Is there a civilized nation on the globe that has not, within the last fifteen years, turned its attention to the education of the people, and that has not embarked in it and made it a matter of state concern, not only as beneficial to individuals, the social compact, but to the security of the state? I should like to know what sort of American statesmanship that is which enables a senator to rise here, in his place, and to arraign a measure designed to educate the people! For that, allow me to say, was

one of the positions taken by the senator from Virginia, and he prided himself apparently on the fact that, in the region of the country in which he was raised, education was left to private enterprise. How well that great duty has been there performed, I care not to say. The history of the country knows. But, sir, I come from a region of country the people of which prize public education; hold public education as a great duty, the first great duty of the state, to be religiously performed; and if New England can boast of anything it is her system of education, which gives to every child, no matter whether he is high or low-born, a fair chance to succeed in the world. That is her glory, and today. Amid the menaces, impotent as they are, that fall about New England, she can put them at defiance by her moral power on the continent by reason of her system of public education. But what struck me as a little peculiar in the objection of the senator from Virginia was the sensitiveness he displayed to the fact that it was a measure designed to educate the negro. I say to the honorable senator, that whether, now or hereafter, there is to be a system of public education for the negro by the United States or by the states, I trust that it will never occur that in the congress of the United States it is thought proper or expedient to raise an objection against private individuals educating the negro if they choose to do so. In other words, I trust the time has come or is soon to come, when it may be lawful, expedient, and proper to allow the negro at least to be educated if he can, and that is all this bill proposes. The bill proposes simply to incorporate certain persons who desire the privilege of spending their own money, not taxing the people, not asking Congress to appropriate money, for the education of negroes.

The bill passed by a decisive majority.

In the session of January 12, 1866, Mr. Morrill, from the same committee, reported a bill conferring suffrage upon colored citizens of the District, which ultimately became a law. It must be admitted, with experience before us of a quarter of a century, that there have been some some results of the extension of the suffrage to a

large class of ignorant and easily influenced persons, both at the seat of the national government and in the insurrectionary states, not wholly satisfactory. But suffrage was the logical sequence of emancipation, and both, with the somewhat premature fruits of evil and of good — the latter, it seems to me, preponderating — were the legitimate and unavoidable consequences of the civil war, and of the violent methods with which the nation had been suddenly called upon to deal with the problem of slavery. In the crisis of a conflagration people do not always act wisely in taking care of other people's or their own property.

When the bill was before the senate an amendment was adopted restricting its application to such persons as could read and write. On motion of Mr. Trumbull of Illinois, this provision had been stricken out and the bill recommitted. Mr. Morrill continued to press the bill upon the attention of the senate, and calling it up on the tenth of December made a strong speech in its in its advocacy in which he said: —

At the formation of the national constitution in only one of the states was the negro excluded from the exercise of the right on account of his race or color. The proposition of the bill is to restore the American rule of suffrage at the national capital; to place it upon the republican principle; to make our legislation conform to the constitution, laws, usages sentiments and opinions of the states at the revolutionary era of the Republic, where universal liberty was the aspiration alike of statesmen and people. In the early constitutions of the states this principle was everywhere recognized and enforced.

The disability which attached to the African slave was because of condition, and not of race or color; and everywhere the adult freeman was deemed entitled to the exercise of the elective

franchise. That disability of condition has now been abolished. In the progress of events, the development of free institutions, the expansion of the principles of popular rights, the abolition of slavery, by the providence of God, we have become a nation of freemen in fact as in name. The emancipated slave has become a free man and a citizen, belongs to the body of the American people, and is no longer the subject of exclusion by either state or the nation. Sir, the constitutional amendment which emancipated the slave gives congress the power to make that freedom of the slave complete. In the spirit of that provision, Congress at its last session enacted that every person born in the United States is a citizen thereof, and entitled to protection in his civil rights. It remains now to recognize that equality, which is the common right of American citizens. All attempts in this country to keep alive the old ideas of orders of men, distinction of class, noble and ignoble, superior and inferior, and the antagonism of races, are so many efforts at insurrection and anarchy.

In a nation of professed freemen, whose political axioms are those of universal liberty and human rights, no public tranquillity is possible while these rights are denied to portions of the American people. We have taken into the bosom of the Republic the diverse elements of the nationalities of Europe, and are attempting to mold them into national harmony and unity, and are still inviting other millions to come to us. Let us not despair that the same mighty energies and regenerating forces will be able to assign a docile and not intractable race to its appropriate place in our system.

The bill, in spite of strenuous opposition in the senate and the pressure of a formidable, local, adverse influence, finally passed, and so committed congress to the policy of universal suffrage as a basis of reconstruction of the Union.

On the fifth of February, 1868, Mr. Morrill addressed the senate in defense of the general policy of Congress to reconstruct the constitutions of the rebel

states, on the basis of citizenship and suffrage for all the people, without reference to race, color or previous condition. President Johnson had resolutely set himself at work to bring back the so-called loyal people of the states, formerly in the rebellion, and enable them to form new state governments that should recognize and protect the actual freedom of the colored man; but left it at their discretion to determine whether or not they should enjoy the suffrage, and through it the right to participate in the government. So far as it had been tried, this policy had resulted in restoring the rebel whites to political power; and they had used their power to harass and oppress the blacks, and to introduce into the South a state of anarchy and lawlessness as unfavorable to good government, order and prosperity as the state of civil war had been. The loyal men of the North felt that the faith of the nation had been pledged to the maintenance of the freedom of the millions lately enslaved, and that its faith could not be kept if it handed them over to be dealt with by their exasperated and defeated masters.

Some of the Northern senators became alarmed at the radical change which negro suffrage implied, and turned back with Johnson toward a more conservative policy. Mr. Morrill's speech was a recapitulation of their arguments and conclusive answer to them. He said: —

> We are charged specifically with "disrobing the white race to enrobe the black man." We are charged with violating the constitution of the United States in order to give the blacks power and dominion over the whites. Outlawry of the white race! Naturally enough one asks himself who are the white race re-

ferred to, of whom senators on this floor assume to be the champions? When the white race is referred to here as having been legislated against by congress, who are meant? The class of white men who have dominated the South for the last thirty years — they, and nobody else — the white men who are in power under the sham states set up by executive usurpation, and exercising that power exclusively for the oppression of the rest of the population of the South. And who are they? Men whose hands are freshly imbrued in the blood of our children; men, who for thirty years have cherished the malignant passion of hatred to this government, which eventuated in civil war and blood; men, moreover, who for a generation — nay, for two hundred years — have cherished a fiendish lust of dominion over their fellowmen in defiance of the law of God, the principles of our holy religion, and the laws of every civilized nation on earth. This is the party in court; this is the white race, between which and the loyal American people the senators who have precipitated this debate, and who made it incumbent to consider the subject of it, interpose and volunteer their arguments and their sympathy to defend.

It had been contended that inasmuch as all the ordinary secessions were null and void, the rebel states never having been legally out of the Union, the cessation of the war restored them to their original rights. Mr. Morrill replied that though their paper acts of secession and separation were mere nullities, their levying war upon the government was not a nullity, but a terrible fact, and that the war they precipitated involved them in treason, destroyed their state governments, overthrew their local institutions and subverted their rights; and that as a conquered party, in a wantonly provoked but long and terrible war, they had no rights but such as their conquerors might award them. He said: —

The senator from Maryland early concurred in the view taken by Mr. Buchanan, that the only exercise of authority by congress or the president or the nation at large was the police power of the government to put down insurrection, and that we had under the constitution no authority whatever for war, war being the destruction of the Union. As a legal point this was ingeniously taken, but has lost its power both for good and evil. It was overruled by the nation; it was overruled by congress; it was overruled by the executive and, unfortunately for the argument, it was overruled by the supreme court.

The contest we passed through was a war, and the nation had all the rights of a nation at war, and the results of the war involved the enemy, the domestic enemy, in all the pains and penalties, forfeitures and disabilities of war.

Take for illustration South Carolina that led the way to armed rebellion in 1861. What, at the close of the war, was its condition? Disorganized by its own act, by the abjuration of every officer who could perform a function, how could it be reanimated? On the theory of my argument its people having engaged in war, and having been overthrown had lost their rights. As the conquered public enemy without civil or political rights, they were in a state of absolute disability. There was not only no officer in South Carolina to perform the functions of office, but there were no persons in South Carolina who were eligible to office. How then was government there to be revived? Not by the people just defeated and under the disabilities of a conquered enemy. Some sovereign power outside of themselves must first relieve them of this disability and give them, under such conditions as it had full authority to impose, permission to reorganize the government they had themselves destroyed.

But our senator's retort upon Garrett Davis of Kentucky, was one of the most brilliant and effective passages in this great speech. Nothing in the history of Congress, unless Webster's memorable reply to Hayne be excepted, surpasses this parliamentary colloquy, so

decorous, so impersonal, so courteous, and at the same time so crushing and unanswerable in the mighty argument it bears.

These notions of the effects of the war on these states are not novel. I am saying nothing new, and surely nothing unusual in the senate. Those who took the ground that the nation had a remedy in war, knew in the beginning that these would be its results. They knew it would be attended with the utter overthrow of state governments, the utter annihilation of slavery and all its interests. They anticipated that, contemplated it, and, so so far as its introduction into the chamber is concerned, it was not original with this side of the house; it originated with the opposition. The honorable senator from Kentucky (Mr. Davis), far-seeing, indefatigable, philosophic in his speculations upon history and upon current events, saw it the first ten days after he entered this chamber in 1861, and proposed to provide for it. He saw that the war cloud, which was then overhanging the nation and threatening to involve every part of it in war — fearful, fratricidal, general war — would be attended with the results of war; that it would give the nation the rights of war; that it would inflict upon the enemy forfeitures and disabilities of war; and he would provide for that state of things; and I proclaim him here and now to the nation as the great originator and inventor of the whole theory of the results which we are providing for in our policy of reconstruction. He was the great inventor of the term, now become historic, "Reconstruction."

On the thirteenth of February, 1862, the senator introduced a series of resolutions, in which he undertook to embody the principles of the war, the power of the government, and the liability of those who oppose it. My purpose was in part to compliment the senator for his instructive sense of the rights of the government, and for his elaboration of those rights in the form of a statement so early as 1862, and to give him the full credit of having been the originator of Congressional Reconstruction. Precisely the state of things which he contemplated in these resolutions came to pass. He then said to the rebels: If you resist

my admonition, if you continue fighting, if you bring on general war, if you put yourselves in the attitude of public enemies, not only pains and penalties shall come to you, not only forfeiture of property and of civil and political rights, but when the great destruction of state constitutions, when the day of subversion comes, then the nation will interpose, and it will be the duty — nay, the necessity — of the nation to interpose, to do what? to "reconstruct," readjust the disordered parts, reconstruct state constitutions in harmony with the changed state of things produced by the war. Now let me read the emphatic parts of the last resolutions:

"That the United States government should march their armies into all the insurgent states and promptly put down the military power which they have arrayed against it, and give protection and security to the loyal men thereof."

Give protection to "the loyal men," carry the sword for the rebels, the olive branch for the loyal men. That is what we are doing now.

Mr. Sumner — And the phrase is "loyal men;" without distinction of color [Laughter.]

Mr. Morrill — I did not say that, but of course "all loyal" men of necessity, includes the colored men.

Mr. Sumner — Of course [Laughter.]

Mr. Morrill — And the resolution proceeds: —

"Give protection and security to the loyal men thereof."

To what end are you to give security to the loyal men?

"To enable them to reconstruct" —

That is it. There is the word — "to reconstruct their legitimate state goverments."

Now, what if they do not do it? And if the people of any state cannot, or will not, reconstruct their state government and return to loyalty and duty, congress should provide a government for such state as a territory of the United States!

It was never proposed to treat them absolutely as territories on this side of the chamber. I think after that declaration, it is hardly worth while for us to speculate about states in the Union or out of the Union. If, as early as 1862, the honorable senator

from Kentucky contemplated that in the progress of events these states would be in the position of territories, when it would be proper for the congress of the United States to treat them as territories and give them governments as territories, I am inclined to think it is hardly worth while for us to quibble on nice points.

This speech of Mr. Morrill closed a long and eloquent debate, participated in by the great leaders on both sides of the chamber, and was at the time characterized by his colleague, Mr. Fessenden, a man never profuse in compliments, as the ablest speech of the discussion.

The next conspicuous occasion for the senator from Maine to exhibit the qualities of his mind and heart was a sad one for himself, for his state and for the nation. On the fourteenth day of December, 1869, he was called on to announce to the senate the death — on the eighth of September previously—of his distinguished colleague, Mr. Fessenden. In the brief sketch he gave of his character and career, he has embodied the most just comprehension, and the most discriminating analysis of the intellectual traits of the great Maine statesman, that have ever been made. As a piece of personal portraiture it is complete, life-like, delicate — at once a masterpiece of characterization by a competent critic, and a hearty tribute of affectionate admiration by a devoted friend.

The following extracts will serve to exhibit the profound observation and keen judgment that prompted this just and noble eulogy: —

The lineaments of Mr. Fessenden's character were marked and clear. He was endowed with an acute understanding, lively sensibility, and an intense personality and self-reliance. Penetra-

tion and insight eminently characterized his genius. He had finished his preparatory course, had graduated from college, studied his profession and entered upon its practice, and had gained distinction in the departments of law and legislation, at an age when most minds are just beginning to contemplate their intricacies and ascend their rugged steeps.

There was next to nothing in his life, public or private, which was factitious or artificial. His professional success and his influence in state and national legislation were by no accident, nor by the employment of adventitious supports, but by the inherent energy and force of his mental constitution. He was eminent in his profession, as in him were combined those intellectual faculties and mental habits, which go to make the lawyer, the statesman and the public administrator. Had he possessed more sentiment and imagination and greater enthusiasm for the ideal, it would doubtless have increased his popularity, while it may be questioned if his reliability as a citizen, his distinction as a lawyer, or his eminence as legislator would have been greater.

In him the intensely practical ever so asserted its preponderance over the ideal in action, as to present to superficial observance a lack of the finer sensibilities. He did nothing from impulse, and on the most exciting occasions could be cool and free from irrepressible restlessness; but it was the calm of high resolve, persistent and tenacious in its triumph over passion and sentiment.

His character rested on a granite basis, and sustained the structure of a lofty public virtue and private integrity, while an inflexible personal independence kept guard over the intellect and conscience, and challenged alike the advance of friend and foe to this seat of his power and secret of his success. It would have been impossible for him, like his great namesake, the premier of George III, to recover office, to acquire or retain place or power by a concession of his principles or a point of honor. No public man ever more heroically followed the leadership of his reason and judgment, and with a loftier disdain of inferior guidance.

His mind and method were of the judicial order. He did not defer to the decision of the popular judgment as the sum of

political wisdom and the inevitable law of duty. His own and not the public sense was his rule of action as a senator. He paid little court to the people, and practiced no artifices and employed no gratuities to enlist them in his interests or purposes. And he did not sway the masses so much by the sublimity of his sentiments as he inspired confidence and admiration by the dignity of his manners, the clearness of his understanding, and the purity of his life.

The sentiments which Mr. Morrill, from his conspicuous place in the senate, so eloquently uttered in support of important public measures, which he devised, proposed and strenuously supported, indicated how dominant in his mind was the idea of justice. That enlightened and humane legislation, which he was always ready to apply to the slave and to the freedman, to lift them as far as it was possible to the condition of the most favored races, he desired to interpose between the Indians — the wards of the nation — and that aggressive and fraudulent spirit, rife in the new settlements of the West, that was always pushing to reclaim and repossess, as altogether too valuable for mere hunting grounds, the generous reservations of rich lands guaranteed to the tribes by the most solemn treaties. Mr. Morrill always stood for the public faith, for strict, fair dealing, for non-interference with Indian titles, and for rigid investigation of those pretended grants of chiefs, and votes of public meetings, by which it was claimed that these half-civilized people had relinquished, for some trivial consideration, their treaty rights.

There were in Mr. Morrill's intellectual characteristics certain endowments eminently fitting him for the

functions of a legislator, that are not usually found in combination. He had the strong feelings and earnest convictions that belong to the enthusiast and the reformer, united with the practical sagacity that belongs to the man of affairs. He looked at proposed projects of law, as they would be likely to affect established institutions, existing conditions of society, with sentiments warmed and inspired by the ethical side of his nature. In debate, he readily became ardent, impassioned, sometimes eloquent; at the same time he never permitted his moral enthusiasm to overwhelm and sweep away the limitations which legal science has established to define the boundaries of competent legislation. He had a more clear perception, perhaps, than some of his more conspicuous associates in the senate, of what matters were fairly within the scope of remedial legislation, and how many desirable reformatory ends legislation was incompetent to achieve. He knew, too, what principles the expert statesman, the trained political scholar would prefer to express in a comprehensive and abstract way in a constitution, or a bill of rights, without any specification of penalties, or any apparatus of enforcement, and what matters of detail and of police were the proper subject of statutes.

In the extraordinary crisis in which the powers of the American constitution were put to their severest strain by the exigencies of a prolonged civil war, threatening its authority and the union it secured, he saw, what many able lawyers failed to see, that war suspended strictly legal methods, and brought in mili-

tary necessities and powers, which the mere civilian is apt to disregard. To him it was plain enough that fellow-citizens, in taking voluntarily the attitude of public enemies might place themselves outside of the protective pale of the constitution. By their own suicidal act they had lost the right to appeal to the constitution and to the civil law, and could only invoke the humanities that mitigate the ferocity of civilized combatants, and to the clemency that moderates the vengeances of magnanimous conquerors.

Besides these high intellectual qualifications Mr. Morrill possessed, in his amiable disposition, in the purity and integrity of his personal character, in the guileless sincerity, frankness and directness of his speech, and the unstudied courtesy of his manners, a basis for the high esteem and solid consideration in which he was steadily held by all the men associated with him in the responsibilities of public life. With the confidence which such qualities inspired, with such conscientious enthusiasm, and such rare capacity for his great work, it is not surprising that in the great conserving and reconstructive exigency through which the country passed from 1861 to 1870 a burden was thrown upon the shoulders of this assiduous public servant quite beyond the measure of his strength.

In addition to his labors as chairman of the committee on the District of Columbia, and the committee of Indian affairs, his eminent candor, the judicial fairness of his mind, and the rare esteem in which his associates of both parties held him, singled him out as the person to conduct several delicate investigations

involving the probity of fellow senators, which he prosecuted without a note of censure upon his conduct even from those who failed to pass without stain from the completeness of the investigation. He was fairly thrust into this disagreeable service, because there was no other senator in whose impartiality there was the same general confidence. Accordingly, as chairman of a special committee, he conducted the inquiry in the senate that culminated in the expulsion from it of Mr. Bright of Indiana, accused of acts of treasonable correspondence with the military leaders of the secessionists. He was also the chairman of the committee of the two houses of congress, by whom the conduct of members of each body was examined in connection with the transactions of the corporation that built the first great railway to the Pacific ocean.

He served also on the committee on naval affairs and the committee on the library. In that latter capacity he made an able and exhaustive report upon the question of international copyright, which had a decided influence in bringing about that just legislation on this subject, not accomplished till after he had left the senate.

His intimate acquaintance with the financial history and condition of the government made him an authority in all matters of appropriation and revenue. When the old standing committee of the senate on finance had become, in the enormous growth of the fiscal interests, no longer able to shape all the necessary legislation belonging to that department, its duties were subdivided, and a new committee, that on

appropriations, was created, and Mr. Morrill was made its chairman, a position he held during the whole period of his senatorial services. There emanated from this committee a report, largely the work of its indefatigable chairman, presented to the senate, June 2, 1876, that embodied a minute detail of all the expenditures of the government for all purposes, from its institution down to that period, with a statement of the expenditures of the civil war, and the years following, as compared with those of the entire period of our previous national history; also a statement of expenditures by decades from the earliest time, showing how rapid had been the development of the national wealth and of national revenue and expenditure, making a volume of great value to the statistician and student of finance.

Such industry and capacity naturally attracted the attention of the executive, and during the second presidential term of General Grant Mr. Morrill was invited and urged to accept the portfolio of the war department and a seat in the cabinet. The duties of that office were too much dissociated from the studies and tastes of the senator, and he declined to assume them. When, however, in the summer of 1876, the secretaryship of the treasury became vacant by the resignation of Mr. Bristow, the now renewed invitation of President Grant to fill that post in his cabinet, backed as it was by most urgent solicitation of leading citizens and business men of the great commercial cities, and offering employment quite in the line of Mr. Morrill's senatorial work, could not well be refused

by him. His administration of the office of finance minister during the last year of General Grant's presidency was eminently prudent, conservative and satisfactory to the country. By pursuing the cautious policy of his immediate predecessor in office, the credit of the government steadily strengthened, and the brilliant task of Mr. Sherman in achieving and maintaining specie payments was made easy.

It is not surprising that such enormous and unremitted labor told at length disastrously on the senator's health. The first warning that he had overtaxed his powers was during his vacation at home in 1870. A severe illness, accompanied with great nervous prostration, and indicating that the brain had been overworked, reduced him for several months to an enfeebled and critical condition. From this he slowly rallied, and before the year ended was absorbed again in the discharge of his accumulated senatorial duties. A still severer attack of the same general character utterly disabled him at the very close of his term of service in the treasury department, his recovery from which was slow and incomplete. The new administration, which followed the usage of surrounding itself with a wholly new cabinet, in which Mr. Morrill's physical condition precluded him from taking service, offered him the ministry to Great Britain, or any post of diplomatic employment he might prefer to it. He chose the modest place of collector of customs for the chief port of his own state, preferring that to the more lucrative collectorship of Boston first tendered to him, as better suited to his enfeebled health, and because

it allowed him to continue to reside in the home to which his attachments were always very strong.

After an unusually spirited canvass in the summer of 1879, in which the so-called Greenbackers had suddenly appeared in great force among the conventional parties, to confound all the calculations of political experts, the people of Maine were informed by their newspapers, the usual vehicle of such information, that the Republicans had elected a considerable majority of both branches of the state legislature, and that there had been no choice of governor — the Greenback candidate leading his competitors — and had settled down into acquiescence or indifference in relation to such result. Late in the fall was made public the tabulation of the governor and council, elected the previous year by a combination of Democrats and Greenbackers, from which it appeared that, by a manipulation of the returns, they had been able to determine as probably elected and entitled to certificates, a coalition majority of both senators and representatives. At once a storm of surprise, indignation and alarm burst forth all over the state, which found expression in warm discussions, in newspaper articles, and in the resolutions of public meetings.

It was maintained on behalf of Governor Garcelon that precedents, some of them legislative action, some of them proceedings of former governors with their council, some of them formal opinions of the supreme court, could be found to justify every instance in which persons reported to have been elected had been refused a certificate of election. The fact was, as

appeared by a detailed report of a committee of investigation, that under no precedent and no rule, whether of strict or of liberal construction, could such a result as the council reached be arrived at. They seemed to have varied their rule to bring in the man whose election they desired, and construed strictly or loosely, as it favored or damaged their side. Nearly all of what the supreme court said of their method of ascertaining who appeared to be elected, was said justly, and was acquiesced in by candid men of all parties. If impeachment had been a practical remedy, there could have been no general protest against subjecting the proceedings of the governor and council to a judicial examination under that constitutional procedure, and the issue of their displacement from office could only have been avoided by partisan feeling on the part of some members of the high court of impeachment.

But when all this is said there stands the act of finding who appeared to be elected, an act assigned by the constitution to the executive department, whose functions are separate from and independent of both the judiciary and legislative functions, no more to be inquired into and reversed by the supreme court than are the decisions of the supreme court to be inquired into and reversed by the governor and council; and the only appeal from the evidently unfair, partisan and corrupt finding of the returning board was that provided by the constitution to the legislature itself.

It is doubtful if the court has any power other than that which the supreme court of the United States has, to determine in cases affecting the rights

of persons, whether certain executive, legislative or judicial acts are constitutional and valid. The privilege of the governor and of the legislature to take the opinion of the supreme court in official matters, is nothing but their right to have such advice gratuitously as they might procure by purchase from eminent counsel in or out of the state, to enable them to make up their own minds; it is not a veto power to reverse and set aside the deliberate decisions to which they have independently arrived. If this veto power resides in the court at all, it was applied for too late. The official act had been done weeks before the court intervened, and though, if enlightened by the safe wisdom of the court, the governor and counsel might have arrived at other conclusions; they had, in fact, exhausted their powers in acting definitely in the matter, without such advice, which it cannot be pretended they were obliged to apply for.

This, then, was the situation; a sufficient number of persons not actually elected to the senate and house were furnished with authority to take their seats and be sworn in, and a sufficient number of persons actually elected were refused such authority, to allow a small majority of the fusionists to organize both branches, to appoint a committee on election, and to determine the rights to seats of all contestants, to count the gubernatorial vote, and if there were no choice to proceed to elect a governor, to elect a United States senator, and to perpetuate their ascendancy till overthrown by the next regular election.

That a slender majority, thus obtained, could have

been depended upon to carry things to such extremities was extremely doubtful; and the sense of justice in the body of *certified* members would probably have compelled an early readjustment of the count to conform to the obvious equities of the case.

The Republican officials were in a high state of exasperation and alarm. Mr. Blaine left his place in the senate, as did the congressional delegation generally, to aid them by their counsel. Nothing could be agreed upon, and the peril grew every day. Mr. Morrill, then in discharge of his duties as collector in Portland, was importuned to come to their aid by repeated telegrams; when at length he presented himself, he was asked: "What can we do? What do you advise?" "Get Garcelon to refer the findings of his council to the supreme court." The suggestion was adopted, and Mr. Morrill was besought himself to address the governor a letter to secure his assent to such reference. On returning to Portland he prepared and forwarded the letter. It was so courteous and deferential in its terms, so patriotic in its spirit, so reasonable in its expedients for putting an end to a controversy that was tarnishing the good name and endangering the peace of the state, coming as it did from a man of such eminent public service, and enjoying the esteem of all classes of his fellow-citizens, that the governor's better nature was captivated, and perhaps assured, that he could put the most glaring irregularities for which returns had been set aside in such shape, that without self-stultification the court could not pronounce them

legal, he framed questions which he confidently hoped might elicit answers to sustain his course.

The court, not disposed to confine themselves to categoric answers to the official questions, came down with an emphatic condemnation of the whole executive proceedings as not only corrupt and fraudulent, but absolutely void and of no legal effect. There had been no argument, and no sufficient time for consultation and deliberation. Revised, in connection with some strictly judicial proceeding, with that proverbial deliberation with which the court is wont to bestow upon the petty matters of dollars and cents between litigants, it is probable that the court would have abated and qualified some of the large pretensions as to the scope of its own authority, and would have made its rules of determining the results of elections more consistent with its earlier decisions, and the political precedents of other states.

The opinion, however, awed public opinion, always deferential to judicial authority, and gave the officer then in the command of the militia, and not embarrassed by the paramount order of any commander-in-chief — for the governor's term of office had expired — a pretext for applying as a *strictly war* measure justified by the public danger, that degree of force necessary to keep the non-elected members outside of the State House while he let the elected in, which soon brought back the reign of law and order. The *rump* legislature, in its outside quarters, soon felt the freezing influence of a January temperature, and, unable to hold their members, whose elections were assured,

soon subsided, and the governor it had improvised and inaugurated, and to whose message it had listened, quietly took the train and went home.

As a document of prime historical importance I insert here a copy of Mr. Morrill's letter.*

To His Excellency, Alonzo Garcelon, Governor of Maine: —

I cannot be mistaken in thinking that, in common with all good citizens, your Excellency must deplore the existing condition of public sentiment in this state to-day. Two great political parties, embracing in their ranks the entire population of the state, are brought into angry relations, producing bitter personal animosities, and possibly leading to scenes of violence.

What is the origin of this extraordinary condition of affairs, seen for the first time in Maine? It is because, unhappily for the first time in Maine, a great political party, and all the members thereof feel dissatisfied with the mode in which the returns of the recent election have been counted and declared. Possibly they may be in error; but sixty-eight thousand citizens of Maine, who voted against your Excellency at the September election, do not feel that the actual result of that election has been proclaimed.

Even granting that all these men are in error, your Excellency cannot but see that it is a very serious matter to leave a sense of wrong rankling in the minds of so many good citizens, who have at heart, as sincerely as your Excellency can have, the peace, good order and happiness of society. Your Excellency cannot fail to perceive, moreover, that the counting out of thirty-seven Republican members of the legislature, elected on the face of the returns, is an event sure to provoke irritation, excitement and anger. The Republican party claim to have elected, by the official returns, one hundred and nine out of the one hundred and eighty-two members that compose the senate and house. The counting out of one-third of the entire number, that the Republicans believe they have elected, is certainly extraordinary, as

* Published in the *Portland Evening Advertiser* December 26, 1879.

your Excellency will admit. I am not now asserting that your Excellency may not have good reason for following this course; but I respectfully submit that you can do a most valuable and honorable service for the state and for yourself by adopting a measure that will satisfy every citizen of the state of the reasonableness and justice of your Excellency's course.

Your Excellency is the only individual in the world that singly and alone can command the prompt opinion of the supreme judicial court. The constitution gives you power to require that opinion in "important questions of law" and "upon solemn occasions." There are surely "important questions of law" pending, and certainly this is a "solemn occasion," so that if that great provision of the constitution were ever needful, it would seem to be at this moment of inestimable value.

I beg also to remind your Excellency that in questions of like import, which have arisen in times past to perplex your predecessors in the executive chair, the habit has been uniform and general to appeal to the court for the true interpretation of the law. At no time, I believe, has it ever been charged that on a question of this character the court has rendered a decision tinged with a partisan feeling. The recent decision of Mr. Justice Virgin is a fresh illustration of how little the political bearings of a question influence the decisions of our supreme judicial tribunal.

It is in the power of your Excellency to restore peace, order, quiet and good feeling to the state and all its inhabitants by asking the opinion of the judges on each law point involved. On the variation of the count from the face of the returns there are precedents for recalling the summons to a representative or senator elect, when erroneously issued; and in case of the five disfranchised cities no summons has yet been sent to any one. Even if there was a question as to the strict legal right to recall a certificate of election, it is not doubtless that a decision of the court would at once cause the member not entitled to the seat to retire, and the rightful member to be at once admitted. The judgment of the court would thus settle, by just umpirage, the embarrassing and dangerous questions under consideration.

I address your Excellency not simply as an individual, anxious for the peace and good order of the state, but as chairman of a committee of the Republican party, all of whom are desirous above all things to avoid any possible disturbance of the public tranquillity, and to allay the popular discontent.

Very respectfully,

LOT M. MORRILL,

Chairman, etc.

It will be seen at once that though Mr. Morrill's letter did not profess to come from a disinterested person, but was on its face an official protest by the party deeply aggrieved by the action of the governor and council made by the chairman of a special committee of that party, it made no severe censures and threatened no extraordinary unconstitutional or questionable methods of redress. It expressly admitted that the governor may have had some good reasons for his extraordinary findings of the result of the election, and there was no suggestion in it that the acts of the governor and council were null and void, or that any other department than the legislature had any constitutional right to reverse or disregard the actual findings of the tribunal, whose duty it was to determine and certify the results of the election. It only frankly and strongly, in the interest of justice and fair dealing, and in the peril of the public peace, asked the governor, taking, as he might, the advice of the supreme court, to revise his judgment, and recall the summons he had issued to non-elected members of the legislature, issuing such others as had been unjustly withheld.

When it is asked to whom and to what measures

the pacification of a deeply outraged people, the righting of a flagrant wrong in connection with these proceedings, is due, it must be answered, after giving to Governor Garcelon's recision and submission of the controversy to the court, the first place, just as we attribute to the extravagant demands of the slaveholders and the treasonable methods by which they sought to enforce them, the overthrow of American slavery, that the balance of the credit ought to be equally divided between the admirable tact displayed in the insinuating phraseology and persuasive eloquence of Mr. Morrill's letter, the emphasis and unexpected scope of the hasty opinion of the supreme court, and — without which both these agencies had been resultless — the military boldness of General Chamberlain, who used the opportunity that an interregnum in the office of governor gave him to apply a Cromwellian purge to keep outside of the halls of legislation those persons who had ventured on the summons of the governor to intrude themselves therein without having been elected.

The credit of writing this letter and the authorship of the suggestion that it should be written, has, since Mr. Morrill's death, been sought to be taken away from him by a person high in political position. The phraseology of the letter has been said to be due to the facile pen of Mr. Blaine, and that Mr. Morrill consented to assume its authorship, and to forward it, because Mr. Blaine thought it would have less persuasive power over the recusant executive, if known to have emanated from a person whose official connec-

tion with the party in opposition was so pronounced as his.

In answer to this groundless allegation may be offset not only the positive recollections of Mr. Morrill's household, who remember the circumstances under which the letter was written, the improbability that Mr. Morrill, whose "great facility in expression and command of language," amply exemplified in the extracts from his speeches in the foregoing sketch, Mr. Chittenden said, "qualified him for the discussion of great questions, with a power and force seldom excelled in any legislative body," would be likely to employ another person to prepare a brief letter he was to adopt and sign as his own, and lastly, that there could have been no purpose to conceal the party relations of the writer, since Mr. Morrill makes his appeal to a political opponent as the representative of sixty-eight thousand disfranchised Republicans, and as chairman of their canvassing committee.

The severe illness I have mentioned of 1870, followed by a similar and more debilitating attack in 1877, left Mr. Morrill, before arriving at old age, a hopeless invalid. The duties of his later public life, though much lighter than those attending his service as a member of Congress and of the cabinet, were conscientiously performed under the disabilities of confirmed invalidism. He bore his increasing suffering with fortitude and patience. He died at his pleasant home in Augusta, January 10, 1883, surrounded by the tender affection of his family, and regretted by hosts of friends in and out of the state.

His wife was the daughter of the late William Vance, Esquire, a prominent character in the history of the thriving community on our eastern frontier, where his life had been mainly spent. His daughters are May, widow of the late Major William McKee Dunn of the United States army, Eliza Bradbury, wife of Joseph E. Badger, Anna Myrick, wife of Charles N. Hamlin, both of Augusta, and Lottie Elizabeth, all of whom survive him.

SOME ADDED FACTS CONCERNING REV. WILLIAM SCREVEN.

BY REV. HENRY S. BURRAGE, D.D.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 8, 1893.

THE York Deeds, which in recent years have been in course of publication under the direction of this Society, have made us acquainted with several added facts concerning Reverend William Screven, pastor of the Baptist church in Kittery, Maine, 1682–84. The first information we have in these volumes concerning Mr. Screven is obtained from a deed by which Elizabeth Seely, of Kittery, widow of William Seely, in consideration of eleven pounds, "current pay of New England," conveyed to William Screven, November

15, 1673, a tenement with ten acres of land on the west side of Spruce creek, at a place then known as Carle's point. Moses A. Safford, Esquire, of Kittery, has recently examined the western shore of Spruce creek, and from the description given in this deed he locates Mr. Screven's lot on the Rogers farm, which was made up of lots purchased by Richard Rogers of the Cutts family, and others, about 1787, and is still in the possession of the Rogers family. There are at the present time no houses on the west side of Spruce creek at this point; but an examination of the shore furnishes evidence that in an earlier time, probably from the beginnings of colonization in this vicinity, there were residences here and there near the shore, and the old cellars are still visible. There are ten or twelve cellars within a short distance of Mr. Screven's place. One side of Mr. Screven's lot was bounded by what is now known as Broad cove, and on the opposite side of the cove there was formerly a tide mill. This mill, I am told, was abandoned about ninety years ago, but the old millstones remain, and are almost the only relics of early Kittery enterprise on the west side of Spruce creek. These memorials of a forgotten period remind us that the early settlers of Kittery made their homes along the water-ways. There was no bridge across the Piscataqua connecting Portsmouth and Kittery until 1828, or thereabouts, and that across Spruce creek at Kittery point was not built until 1837.

William Screven married, July 23, 1674, Bridget Cutts, the third child of Robert Cutts, of Kittery. Roberts Cutts was a brother of John and Richard

Cutts, so well known in connection with the early settlements on the Piscataqua, and came to the Piscataqua several years later than his brothers. He had been engaged in trade at Barbadoes, where he made the acquaintance of his second wife, Mary Hoel, the daughter of an English clergyman; but it is not known whether he married then or after his arrival at the Piscataqua. He had a friend and neighbor at Kittery in Captain Francis Champernowne. Both were made justices of the peace in 1665, and to them authority was given to manage jointly the affairs of that part of the province. Robert Cutts died the last of June, 1674, and sometime subsequent to 1675, Robert Cutts' widow married Captain Francis Champernowne, a descendant of the house of Plantagenet, and of many of the most prominent families in the west of England. His father, Arthur Champernowne, was a first cousin of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh.[1] Captain Champernowne died in the spring of 1687, without children, leaving his property to his wife, and her children by Robert Cutts, viz., to his widow one-half of Champernowne's island, and the other half to his son-in-law Humphrey Elliot and his wife, Elizabeth (Cutts) Elliot. To the other children of Robert Cutts, including Mrs. Screven, he gave three hundred acres of land between Crockett's neck and the land formerly owned by Hugh Gullison on the east side of Spruce creek. Champernowne Elliot, son of Humphrey Elliot, he made his heir and residuary legatee.

[1] Howard's Genealogy of the Cutts Family in America, p. 484. See especially biographical sketch of Capt. Francis Champernowne in C. W. Tuttle's "Historical Papers."

Reverend William Screven, while at Kittery, in a letter to the Baptist church in Boston dated September 13, 1682, mentions the fact that his mother-in-law (Mrs. Champernowne) had become a Baptist. After the death of Captain Champernowne, Mrs. Champernowne, with Humphrey Elliot and his family, removed to South Carolina and joined the Screvens, who went to South Carolina in 1684.

Robert Elliot, oldest son of Humphrey Elliot, married[1] (1), February 5, 1720–21, Elizabeth Screven, daughter of Reverend William and Bridget (Cutts) Screven. Robert Elliot resided in Berkley county South Carolina. He held the office of tax commissioner in 1720, and for several years following. His will, dated July 15, 1727, was proved January 11, 1727–28. His mother, Elizabeth (Cutts) Elliot, after the death of her husband, married Robert Witherick, of Somerton, South Carolina.[1] Champernowne Elliot signed his mother's bond in 1718, and is frequently mentioned in the records of South Carolina, 1720–25, as deputy to the surveyor general. His subsequent history is unknown.

In the Cutts Genealogy, recently published, the children of Reverend William and Bridget (Cutts) Screven, are given as follows:

(1) Samuel, born ——; died December 3, 1771.
(2) Mary, born ——.
(3) Sarah, born ——.
(4) Bridget, born ——.

[1] See Elliots of Kittery, New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 1890, p. 113. Historical Papers by C. W. Tuttle, pp. 338–340.

(5) Elizabeth, born ——; married Robert Elliot, a son of Humphrey Elliot.
(6) Robert, born ——.
(7) Patience, born ——.
(8) Joshua, born ——.
(9) William, born ——; married Catherine Stoll; died after 1750.
(10) Joseph, born ——.
(11) Elisha, born September 1, 1698; married Hannah Johnson, 1724; died December 3, 1757.

In 1704, Robert Screven, son of Reverend William Screven, was at Kittery, and in the York Deeds, Book VII, Folio 15, we find the following: —

To All Christian People to whom this Instrum^t in writing Shall come Know Ye that I William Screven[1] of South Carolina Doe ordain constitute and appoint And have by these presents ordained constituted & appointed my welbeloved Son Robert Screven to be my true and Lawfull attorney to Act and do for me in and about all my afaires in New England as if I my Self were there in person and my s^d attorney is and Shall by these presents be authorised and fully Impowered to make up accounts with any of my Debters to pay or Receive as ocation may require also to Sue or arest any of my Debters who Shall refuse to agree to y^e things as are Just and Equall Also my Said Attorney may and Shall have full power Authority and liberty to plead or implead any Causes that belong to my concerns as he Shall Se cause in any of her Maj^tys Courts in New England Also to agree abate on reasonable consideration and release and Set at liberty at his pleasure I also give unto my s^d Attorney full power and Authority to Alienate & Sell for money all and every part and parcell of my Estate of houses and lands in New England to give bills of Sale Sign Seal & deliver and give possession according to y^e Method of y^e Countrey to receive the money keep and reserve it for my use and all those things w^ch my Said Attorney

[1] Printed in York Deeds "Sereven."

Shall doe according to Law as Intended and ordered by this Instrument is and Shall be accounted effectuall and Valid in Law and Shall forever Stand good against me or any of mine my heires Execut^{rs} Adm^{rs} and assignes In Witness whereof I have Set to my hand and Seal June the twelfth: Carolina at Charlestown 1704 William Screven (his seal)

Sealed and delivered
in p^{r}sence of
John Pitts
Obed^{h} Wakefield// South Carolina

Suffolk ss. Boston July Die 12mo 1704

John Pitts and Obediah Wakefield made oath that they were present and Saw William Screven Sign Seal and deliver y^{e} Instrument on tother Side and that they did then Subscribe their names as Witnesses thereto.

Cora^{r} me John Clark Just^{s} Pea^{s}

A true Copie of the original Transcribed and compared Octob^{r} 1th 1704. p. Jos. Hamond Reg^{r}

In accordance with the authority thus received Robert Screven, November 20, 1704, as per the following deed, sold the homestead of his father in Kittery:

To All Christian people to whom these p^{r}sents Shall come Greeting. Know Yee that I Robert Screven[1] now resident in Kittery in y^{e} County of York in New England Shipwright Atturney to my father M^{r} William Screven late of y^{e} Town & County aboves^{d} but now of her Ma^{tis} Collony of Carolina Now know ye that I Robert Screven Attorny as afores^{d} to my father M^{r} William Screven aboves^{d} And by y^{e} vertue and power Strength and authority given and Delegated unto me y^{e} s^{d} Robert Screven by my s^{d} ffather as by his Letter of Attorney to me doth more fully appear bearing date June y^{e} twelfth — 1704 — and on Record in y^{e} Records of s^{d} County aboves^{d} reference thereunto being had for y^{e} consideration of forty eight pounds in money

[1] Printed in York Deeds "Sereven."

to me y^e s^d Attorney in hand paid by M^r Nicholas ffrost of Portsmouth in y^e Province of New Hampshire Marin^r the receipt thereof I doe confess and my Self therewith contented and fully paid Have given granted bargained and Sold And doe by these p^rsents Absolutely give grant bargain and Sell All that house and tract of Land lying in y^e township of Kittery in y^e County afores^d at or in a place called Crooked Lane near adjacent unto M^r Robert Cutts dwelling house unto y^e s^d Nicholas Frost his heires Execut^rs Adm^rs or assignes forever, The s^d Dwelling house and Land containing about half an Acre of Land be it more or less being y^e late homested of my s^d father aboves^d and is now in y^e ocupation of the Reverend M^r John Newmarch Minister of s^d town And is that tract of Land that was conveyed unto my s^d father by my uncle M^r Richard Cutt lying in that place as by his Deed appears on Record reference thereunto being had together with all y^e gardens backsides wharfs Landings wells fences highways easments Appurtenances and priviledges whatsoever belonging to y^e s^d house and Land her Maj^tys Interest of Garisoning only Excepted, To have and to hold all y^e s^d house and Lands as they are hereby Set forth and described and every part and member thereof unto y^e only and Sole use of him y^e s^d Nicholas ffrost his heires Executors Adm^rs or assignes for ever more against him y^e s^d William Screven y^e Attornor abovesaid or me y^e s^d Robert Screven Attorney afores^d or our heires Execut^rs or Adm^rs or any other under us whatsoever And furthermore I y^e s^d Robert Screven Attorney as aboves^d Doe for my Self and my heires in y^e behalf of my father & his heires as I am Attorney for him Covenant to and with the s^d Nicholas Frost and his heires Execut^rs Adm^rs or assignes that y^e p^rmisses are free from all Incumbrance whatsoever as Sales gifts Mortgages Joyntures Dowers, Leases Quit rents reversons or remainder And that I y^e s^d Robert Screven as Attorney to my s^d father have full power and Lawfull Authority to Sell and dispose of y^e Same, the peaceable and quiet possession thereof to warrant and forever defend against all persons whatsoever Laying a Lawfull Claim thereunto her Ma^ts Interest only Excepted Signed Sealed and Delivered by me

the Attorney afores^{d} this twentieth day of Novemb^{r} one thousand Seven hundred and four.: 1704

Signed Sealed and delivered Robert Screven ($\frac{his}{Seale}$)

In y^{e} p^{r}sence of us y^{e} Subscrib^{r}

John Woodman

Richard Briar

John Reede

William Godsoe

York ss / Kittery: Novemb^{r} 20th 1704

According to this deed Reverend William Screven did not dispose of his homestead in Kittery when he removed to South Carolina, but it remained in his possession until 1704. Its location is clearly indicated by the deed. It was on Crooked lane, a well-known water thoroughfare then as at the present day, and it was "near adjacent" to Mr. Robert Cutts' dwelling-house. Robert Cutts lived in what is now known as the Whipple house, opposite the marine barracks of the United States Navy Yard at Kittery. Mr. Screven's house accordingly stood where now stands the summer cottage of William B. Keen, of Malden, Massachusetts. Mrs. Keen, who is a native of Kittery, remembers when the old two-story house was torn down, and says the doorstep of the old house is under the piazza at the west end of the cottage. It is also a tradition in Kittery that this old house contained loopholes for musketry. It will be noticed in this connection that in the sale of the property "her Maj^{tys} Interest of Garisoning" is excepted. As the lot on which the house stood was surrounded on three sides by water, it was a point easily defensible against the Indians.

Reverend John Newmarch, who was living in Mr. Screven's house in 1704, was graduated at Harvard College in 1690, and began to preach at Kittery Point within two years of his graduation. He was hired as a preacher from year to year until November 4, 1714, when a church of forty-three members was organized. Williamson says (Collections and Proceedings of the Maine Historical Society, 1893, page 196), "As the first minister of the town, he had a lot of land granted to him, and subsequently he resided between Spruce creek and the river near the ferry."

The descendants of Reverend William Screven are very numerous in South Carolina and Georgia. General James Screven,[1] born in 1738, a great-grandson of Reverend William Screven (*William*,[1] *William*,[2] *James*,[3] *General James*[4]), was one of a committee of thirty appointed July 27, 1774, at a meeting of the inhabitants of Georgia, at the Exchange in Savannah, who drew up resolutions not to import or use British manufactures till the rights of the colonists should be restored. This committee reported the resolutions at a meeting held August 10, 1774. The resolutions are given in Force's American Archives, fourth series, volume I, pages 638 and 700. James Screven was a member of the provincial congress which met July 4, 1775, and as brigadier general in the Georgia militia having served from 1775, he was killed at Medway church, November 24, 1778.

Benjamin Screven was a captain of South Carolina dragoons in 1779.

[1] Howard's Genealogy of the Cutts Family in America, p. 548.

Reverend Charles O. Screven, a son of General James Screven, was graduated at Brown University in 1795, received the degree of doctor of divinity in 1826, and died in 1830. He had a classmate at Brown University, Thomas Screven, who also died in 1830, and both were classmates of Ezekiel Whitman, LL. D., of this state, who was a member of the seventeenth congress, also chief justice of the supreme court of Maine, and died in 1866.

A REFUGE FOR MARIE ANTOINETTE IN MAINE.

BY RUFUS K. SEWALL.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 7, 1893.

[With Mr. Baxter's Remarks.]

ROMANCE OF A CENTURY.

Was there an asylum for the Queen of France, an American refuge to Marie Antoinette, on the banks of the Sheepscot, beyond reach of the guillotine of Robespierre's reign of terror?

THE MARIE ANTOINETTE HOUSE, EDGECOMB, MAINE.

Recently has appeared in the Boston press an elaborate tissue of facts and fiction, afloat in the traditions of Maine and Massachusetts a century ago, entitled "Tracking a Romance," [1] of which a notable old man-

[1] Boston Herald, September, 1893.

"OLD CLOUGH HOUSE," Edgecomb, Maine.

sion house near Wiscasset is the central figure. It now stands on a declivity of the east shore of the Sheepscot, at the eddy, so called, embowered in an orchard. This house, in the publication named, figures as an asylum, designed as a retreat for the unfortunate queen, widow of Louis XVI of France, and as a refuge in the political turmoil of the French revolution; suggested by public rumor of its history, well authenticated facts, as well as relics a century old.

We propose to lift the curtain, uncover the tracks, which begin here in Maine, center in Paris, and end in Massachusetts, near Boston.

ITS ORIGINAL SITE, HISTORIC.

The original site of this house was on the head of Squam island, so named, of Indian occupancy in Indian tradition, west shore of the Sheepscot expansion into Wiscasset bay. As it stood in modern isolation, on the point under the headlands of Squam, it was universally known as the "Old Clough House," a conspicuous landmark to the Wiscasset harbor entrance, as well as a notable deserted homestead, attractive to all passers up and down the river on account of its storied relation to the unfortunate queen, its adornments of French tapestries and paper hangings, costly finishings and royal furnishings. It so stood on its original foundations till 1838. Gardiner Gove, an Edgecomb merchant, then bought up its titles, moved it off, rolled it on to big flatboats, and ferried it across the river to "The Eddy," and drew it to its present site by long strings of oxen, of all which

we were eye witnesses. Its original site is the terminal north of what was called "Edgecomb island" a century ago, and Jeremy Squam by the Indians.

The house is alleged to be of oak framework, hewed and built by Moses Davis, Esquire, of "Folly Island," and a representative to the Watertown Revolutionary Convention from the precinct of the Sheepscot.[1] He built the house for a Captain Joseph Decker, in 1774. Decker was a well-to-do ship-owner and master of those days. He owned and occupied a "thirteen acre" lot on Squam point, the northern extremity of the present town of Westport, Maine, which in Decker's days was one of the "cells" of which Wiscasset point was called[2] the "commercial bee-hive."

The island of "Jeremy Squam," of ancient times, divides the Sheepscot's tides eleven miles to the sea. Its head, the original location of the "Old Clough House," is remarkable for deep water indentations, sheltered coves and boomage facilities for the giant timber of a century ago in mast and spar rafts, and a depot for heavy lumber trade, then distinguishing Wiscasset and its precincts, as a mart for such shipping to Europe.

The point itself is an expansion of arable land, the flattening out of the pine-clad granitic heights of old "Fort McDonough," which shapes and turns the deep waters of the ocean tides here congested at "the eddy" under "Folly Island" (the site of the elaborate military works of Fort Edgecomb of 1809) north and east, into what in 1793 was "Decker's Narrows," the

[1] Moses Davis' Diary. [2] J. H. Shepard.

ship channel entrance to Wiscasset harbor. The topography and hydrography of the locality gave the point eminence as a secure Indian trade station for Walker of Sheepscot, in 1676, with its stone garrison house and appurtenances, subsequently owned by a Mr. Delano, at the close of our Indian wars. The same peculiarities gave it eminence for commercial activities, in 1772, when Decker acquired possession of the place. Thereafter, the old stand was destroyed by fire, when Decker replaced the garrison buildings and covered the ruins with the wooden manorial house in question, added wharves, warehouses and docks on the east front by the Sheepscot shore, in 1774, adorning the point with a stately mansion of Virginia plantation style in architecture, and notable commercial adjuncts[1] the eleventh of October, of that year. The boomage of ranging timber and mast pines for foreign export enhanced the site as a shipping point for timber and lumber, into which Captain Joseph Decker entered with enterprise and success.

In[1] 1792, Decker died at sunset, December 17, and was buried the twentieth, but Captain Stephen Clough had entered into Decker's family and shipping business. On settlement of the Decker estate, Clough bought in the titles and succeeded to the Decker homestead, and business on the point.

APPEARANCE OF THE SWAN FAMILY.

In[2] 1793, Clough was the registered owner of the ship "Sally of Wiscasset." By these changes the

[1] Davis' Diary.

[2] Custom Register.

Decker mansion became the notable "Clough House." As[1] early as 1773, a master of an English mast-ship named "Swan" harbored at the point for freight. This Captain Swan ate his Christmas dinner of "roast goose"[1] at the table of Moses Davis, Esquire, and his New Year's supper, also of roast goose, at the same table in 1774, while his ship laded ranging timber from "Oven's Mouth," an eastern estuary of the Sheepscot below, out of the Decker and Davis rafts.

SCOPE OF WISCASSET'S TIMBER TRADE.

Spain, England and France utilized Wiscasset's timber and lumber trade in early times.

In 1750, a Spanish[2] man-of-war loaded mast and spar timber at the wharves and docks at and about Wiscasset. In 1778, the French mast-ship, Lafayette, was captured by an English forty-four gunship, the Rainbow,[3] Commodore Collier, in the Sheepscot below the cross, which vessel had been seized in September, 1777, above Wiscasset at Sheepscot Falls by English barges, that were beaten off by the yeomanry of the neighborhood. In 1789, "Squam,"[4] then called Edgecomb island, at Hodgdon's cove below Wiscasset, had Salt Works established by the French under Bennetté Claude De St. Pry, a native of Lyons, who, in fact, was an officer of the French government, sent to observe and report the progress and workings of the American revolution, but engaged in business near Wiscasset on the Sheepscot below, the better to conceal the purpose of his mission.

[1] Davis' Diary. [2] Crooker's Diary. [3] Dr. Packard, English Account.
[4] French occupancy of the Sheepscot.

This establishment seems to have had a Boston connection; and also associated trade in lumber with salt making with Langdon & Page, merchants of Wiscasset point. Captain Joseph Decker was connected with this firm in foreign trade. Captain[1] Stephen Clough succeeded him, and appears to have been concerned in the French lumber exportation with the Swan shippers, Colonel James then residing in Boston but in business in Paris. Heavy lumber exportation was its important feature, and Captain Clough was the active Wiscasset operator, under Colonel Swan's[2] agent, General Henry Jackson, by contracts for Paris markets.

CLOUGH IN PARIS.

That Captain Clough was in Paris in 1793 is fully established by authentic family tradition. He was there, it is presumed, in execution of his Swan lumber contracts and in his ship, the Sally, with cargo for Swan's Paris trade.

The family record is, "That he was at Paris during the reign of Revolutionary Terror, under Robespierre, and actively engaged in aid of the victims of Revolutionary vengeance."

In Swan's shipping lumber service, between Wiscasset and Paris, with his ship Sally, 1793, under charter or otherwise, whatever agency Swan and other American sympathizers may have undertaken in plans to save human life, and relieve the horrors of the bloody episode of infidel lawlessness in this crisis of French history, it is presumed the big-hearted American

[1] Letters of I. H. Treat, J. J. Sanderson, grandchildren of D. Pry.
[2] Court Records of Suffolk County, Boston.

sailor would have entered, apart from any prospective valuable freight service to his ship, the Sally.

PUBLIC SYMPATHY AND ITS EFFECTS.

Especially would Captain Clough be likely to coöperate in the well-known plan projected to save the unfortunate queen, the broken-hearted Marie Antoinette, from the guillotine, by the use of his ship in port or at sea. The entire civilized world stood appalled at the atrocities of the French revolutionary mob, and its humanity instinctively recoiled against the fiendish brutality with which the poor queen and her children were treated. Whatever was done or contemplated was by spontaneous impulse at the demand of the best instincts of humanity and natural justice.

There seems to have been a coöperation with other American and royalistic French sympathizers to rescue the queen; and Talleyrand, it is well known, was proscribed by the convention for his royalistic proclivities. The story of the queen's execution, we think, will throw fuller and further light on the problem of the traditions afloat. Lamartine has recorded the facts in detail.

REIGN OF TERROR AND EXECUTION.

A revolutionary faction of the French nation, called a convention, assumed sovereignty of state in July, 1793. Terrorized by lawless workmen, beggars and women, in and of the streets of Paris, yelling: "Death or bread," to placate and divert the mob, the convention decreed process against the queen.

Robespierre and Marat were leading demagogues, had enumerated the heads to be cut off by the steel, as the proscribed could be seized with a view to hold and wield the sword of state in their own behalf, and strike without pity.

"Let us initiate terror as the order of the day," cried the committee of public safety.

Jacobin judges were seated on the bench, juries organized of extreme partisan fealty, and of the least intelligence and most ferocious dispositions. The slums of Paris furnished the panel. Nobles, priests, bankers and strangers, all were classed among the suspected. Indeed, the court was organized to deal out death at the call of a mob. Within sixty days ninety-eight heads had fallen into the basket of blood. Implacable and cowardly vengeance now howled for the head of Marie Antoinette, their foreign-born queen, a princess of the house of Austria, beautiful, cultivated and brilliant. She was, however, devoted to the church of Rome as a Christian representative, and to her idolized husband Louis XVI, who had already been executed. His noble wife, however, was held guilty of royalty, a crime with the rabble of Paris.

The cultured of the convention, it is said, blushed to deliver the queen over to the mercies of public caprice, as a victim. Even Robespierre said, "Ideas are pitiless, but the people should know how to forgive."

The twentieth of January, in 1793, the royal household were pensioners of state, in the Temple of Justice, where Marie Antoinette had been torn from the

embrace of the king, as he was dragged to execution. She there reclined on her bed, in her clothes, during the agony of suspense, plunged in continuous swoons, broken by sobs, tears and prayers, seeking, says Lamartine, "the exact moment the fatal knife should sever the life of her husband, to attach his soul to her own, and make him as a protector in heaven, whom she had lost as a spouse on earth." The shouts of the mob and the roar of cannon, indicated the sad event. The queen asked "if he died as a king." The council refused the consolation of an answer. A lock of his hair and his marriage ring were also denied to the widowed queen.

The shadows of sorrow deepened apace. In the midst of alarms, out of humanity's reach, Marie Antoinette was hurried to more merciless issues.

Decree of separation from her son was passed and executed, with untold anguish to the mother's heart.

On the second of August, 1793, at two A.M., she was roused from her bed to prepare to meet the bloody court above. She betrayed neither astonishment nor grief, but stood still, half-naked, obliged to dress before the men seeking her life. She was led to a vault under the Palace of Justice, paved and walled with freestone, blackened with the smoke of torch-lights and encrusted with damp mold. A pallet of coarse cloth, with no curtains, a deal table and wooden box, with two straw chairs, were all its furniture. Here immured at midnight, she was left with tallow candles. Soldiers, with naked swords, guarded the prison vault.

These transactions moved every thoughtful and human heart to sympathy for the forlorn queen. Plans of rescue were at once organized. Thoughtful and sympathetic ones contrived to intervene, with hopes to deceive the ferocious impatience of the Paris rabble. The object was the queen's rescue. The record is, "Even many municipals joined secretly in plans for the queen's escape." A gentleman of royalistic sympathies gained access to the prison, and contrived to meet and see the queen. Was it Talleyrand? He handed her flowers in which was concealed a note. It told her of deliverance. Unfortunately the guards detected it, and the secret of escape was betrayed! The queen trembled.

Aggravated insult and oppression followed; but the orders of the brutes of the convention "no woman's hand could be found to execute" on the poor queen.

On the thirteenth of October notice of accusation and trial was served. The humidity of her dungeon had impaired the only two dresses allowed her, "a black gown and a white gown."

ANGEL OF MERCY.

The daughter of Madame Bault, her prison keeper, moved with pity for the distressed and hapless queen, became an angel of mercy to her wants in ministering relief. She mended the queen's tattered gowns and shoes, and secretly distributed pieces and shreds as memorials and keepsakes to royal sympathizers. The kind-hearted girl softened the harshness of the queen's guards, and was allowed to dress her head and hair for

her public trial — "hair once so thick and bright now turned white — which fell from a head but thirty-seven years old."

On the fourteenth of October, at noon, she was led up to the Judgment hall, environed with armed men, and was seated on the bench of the accused. Her countenance had changed, faded in grief, but showed no signs of humiliation. Her eyes were encircled with dark lines of tearful sorrow and sleeplessness, but still darted rays of their former brilliancy into the faces of her enemies. Her beauty, which had intoxicated a court and dazzled Europe, had indeed gone, but traces thereof remained. The natural freshness of her northern complexion struggled still with the pallor of prison life. Her hair, whitened not with age but with anguish, fell down her back. The crowd was silent at her apparition, though made up largely of women who surrounded the scaffold with every possible insult. Herman, the arch Jacobin, held the court. "What is your name?" he cried from the bench. "I am called Marie Antoinette of Lorraine, in Austria," she answered. "Your condition?" "Widow of Louis, formerly king of the French," was her response. "Your age?" "Thirty-seven," she said. A part of the accusation was the foul and odious echo of the tattle of Paris, embellished with the calumnies of the slums of the debauched city.

The queen heard it all without emotion; answered with presence of mind and such refutation that her only mistake was the defense itself.

One Herbert, a noted cynic, appeared and imputed

to her depravity, extending to the corruption of her only son.

The indignation of the crowd broke out upon him. Outraged nature asserted its majesty and rights. The poor queen answered with tokens of horror, "There are accusations nature refuses to answer."[1] Then she arose and turned to the crowd of women around the bar, and called for the testimony of their own hearts, in an appeal to their motherly instincts to give the lie to such beastly insults to the sex. A shudder of horror ran through the crowd against her accuser. The queen, however, justified the honor of her dead husband, and as to him answered as if she desired to carry back to him in heaven his memory honored and avenged. In an hour she was declared guilty. To the verdict she made no reply and to the sentence of death, no answer; but rose, wrapped herself in silence, her last protection, and walked out to execution. A round of applause greeted her exit.

At half-past four, morning of the fifteenth of October, 1793, the queen called for a pen, ink and paper, and wrote a touching farewell to her sister Elizabeth, directing her to instruct her son not to avenge the blood of his parents. She then fell asleep for some hours. On waking, the daughter of Madam Bault dressed and adjusted her flowing hair. Marie[1] Antoinette then took off her black gown and put on the white one for a death-robe. A white handkerchief enwrapped her shoulders, and a white cap with black ribbon covered her head. The chronicler describes

[1] Lamartine.

the day to have been shrouded in a pallid autumnal fog, which hung over the river Seine, as if nature in grave sympathy forestalled its horror, to hide the bloody transactions at hand. Roofs and trees along the way passed by the death march to the scaffold of the bloody ax, were covered with people, the coarse women of Paris in the ascendant.

At eleven, the procession started. A man of God, of the queen's proscribed faith, by pre-arrangement, stood hidden in a window as she passed, to grant her the absolution she craved in Christian death-service of her church ritual. A gesture, inexplicable to the gaping crowd, revealed to Marie Antoinette the watchful presence of her faithful spiritual guide. The queen closed her eyes, bowed her head to an invisible presence, under an unseen hand extended in blessing, made the sign of the cross on her breast, so far as her manacled hands would suffer. The crowd thought she prayed and respected her attitude.

Inward joy and consolation from this moment lighted the queen's countenance. Reaching the foot of the guillotine she mounted the steps, aided by a revolutionary priest and the executioner at her elbow, a sop to the Christian formalities of the day and decency of the occasion, vouchsafed by the godless authorities of state.

"Pardon me," cried the queen, as involuntarily she trod on the foot of the executioner in her ascent to the scaffold. Then kneeling an instant in half-audible prayer, she rose to her feet, and cried, "Adieu, my children, once again! I go to rejoin your father,"

turning toward the towers of the temple, where her son and daughter lay, with their Aunt Elizabeth, imprisoned.

The executioner trembled as he stretched forth his shaking hand to loose the ax for its fatal stroke. The head of the queen was instantly severed from her body. The bloody sacrifice to wanton human vengeance and lawlessness in ghastly exhibition started a shout, *Vive la Republica!* This climax of human savagery was the outgrowth of deified reason, rioting in the shadows of the doctrine, "Death is an eternal sleep," as a decree of state."

The revolution believed itself avenged, "but was only disgraced," says Lamartine; and I may add, from that fatal day forward God has given France blood to drink.

THE RELIC.

Now a relic of this tragedy found in the "Old Clough House" and as an heirloom in the family of its owner, Captain Stephen Clough, becomes pertinent. It is a carefully preserved fragment of the white death robe of Marie Antoinette, with the legend inscribed within a knotted loop of its alleged trimmings, viz.: — "This was taken from the dress which Queen Marie Antoinette wore at her execution, by an eye witness, Captain Stephen Clough." This relic of alleged royal wardrobe is authenticated by the earliest family tradition of the highest respectability, socially and other ways.

TRADITION.

The family hearsay is that Captain Clough was in France three years and during the revolution; that he helped exiles and refugees save their treasures, and once came near losing his life; that he brought home many beautiful chairs, vases, etc., which went largely into the family of the late Judge Silas Lee of Wiscasset, and a clock now supposed to be in Washington, in the house of a member of Mrs. Lee's family[1].

Among articles of apparel shipped on board of Captain Clough's vessel was a satin robe of the royal household goods, which it is said the king wore on state occasions. Dresses of the royal wardrobe also came with other household stuffs in this ship. The satin robe was cut over for the use of the captain's wife. The royal belongings to the personalities of the royal family, left in the home freight presumed of Clough's ship the Sally, are suggestive of shipment for royal use abroad.

OTHER RELICS.

In the possession of Honorable J. P. Baxter, President of the Maine Historical Society, is an inlaid French mahogany sideboard, surmounted with a large silver urn, traced to freight furniture of Clough's ship, as an article of the Marie Antoinette's household furniture, and found in the family of the late General Knox of Thomaston, as a relic of Clough and Swan's shipments.

Then the memory of the unfortunate Marie Antoi-

[1] Letters of Rev. J. E. Adams, a grandson.

nette has been honorably and tenderly preserved in Captain Clough's family. On his return he gave to his newly-born daughter the queen's name, which has been perpetuated as an heirloom in branches of the family for three generations, and is still an appurtinent to the old family mansion, yet owned and occupied by a granddaughter and a great-granddaughter of the captain.

The above facts are memorial records, affixed to the now famous homestead, as vouchers for its hospitable relations to Marie Antoinette in the purposes and plans of its owner.

TALLEYRAND PROBABILITIES.

The transactions, out of which the above facts grew, occurred in Paris in the fall of 1793. In the early part of 1794, Talleyrand, the proscribed French statesman, of alleged royal sympathies, with a young French companion, landed from a ship in Wiscasset, took letters there to a Colonel North of Augusta, traveled overland to the Kennebec, tarried in Dresden with High Sheriff Bridge, visited in Hallowell and other places, supposed to have been at General Knox's of Thomaston, and then after that went to the seat of government at Philadelphia.

Talleyrand and his companion, it is believed, were French refugees, hiding abroad from the guillotine of Robespierre and Marat. His sympathy with royalty had rendered him offensive to the convention, and it is not impossible he was one of the active royalistic sympathizing Frenchmen who had carried the fatal

flowers to the imprisoned queen. If so, and cognizant of the projected plans of her rescue, likely he would have taken shelter in the ship with the royal household goods on board.

It has been suggested his Wiscasset landing was from a ship of General Woods. This is, however, discredited by the general's son-in-law, Honorable J. H. Sheppard. Besides, the retaliatory measures of the French spoliations on American commerce had already been initiated.

As early as 1791[1] American shipping had been inhibited to the ports of France, and except in the service of French commerce liable to seizure and confiscation. General Wood's ship was in fact seized and confiscated thereafter, but Clough's ship, the Sally, has no record of a spoliation disaster. She, it is presumed, engaged in the French lumber trade with Colonel Swan between Wiscasset and Paris, would be exempt from French spoliation seizure.

The return voyage of the Sally, in 1794, we think brought Talleyrand and his protégé to the wharves of Wiscasset, with the royal findings and furniture on board, and that Talleyrand had good reason for leaving France as he did in Clough's ship.

CURRENT TRADITIONS

Seventy years ago, in Edgecomb, relating to incidents connecting the "Old Clough House" with the unfortunate queen, make definite and precise statements, and which may have originated with the Wool-

[1] Dais' Opinions, Court of Claims.

wich seamen of Clough's ship, who related their experience in Paris, at the date of the royal tragedy, as is well known. The story is "That Captain Clough's ship was in France, and at the time Marie Antoinette was arrested by the revolutionary mob; the royal belongings had been carried on board Clough's vessel for the queen's use; and that she, being seized and beheaded on the eve of sailing, the royal parcels were left on board and brought away." This public statement of incident agrees with the facts in the published account of Marie Antoinette's execution, as well as with the hearthstone stories of the "Old Clough House."

We may surmise that haste and secrecy pressed Captain Clough's departure from France.

Nothing can be more probable than that Talleyrand was mixed in the purposes and plan of the queen's rescue with her American sympathizers, and was one of the gentlemen of the conspiracy to save the queen.

The collapse of the attempt projected, under the circumstances, involving as it did the lives and safety of the royal household and its partisans, would urge flight; and so taking with him a member of the royal blood, Talleyrand hasted to Clough's ship and took passage, with the royal goods, for America, landing, in 1794, at Wiscasset, then a well known center of interest and attraction in France as a noted place of business, as well as of official government observation, at De Pry's salt works below. The French salt works of the Sheepscot probably drew attention to Maine and her Edgecomb island of the Sheepscot,

where the incidents of the proposed royal reserve urged as a safe retreat during the revolutionary storm.

The suspected Talleyrand and his companion, the supposed prince royal and heir to the throne of France, landed at Wiscasset in the spring or early summer following the execution of the queen; and there is hardly a doubt that he came in Clough's ship the Sally.

But there was a Massachusetts ending. The story in the alleged "tracking of romance," has such. It must be taken into account in the solution of the problem of the proposed American rescue. The lading of the royal household stuff on board of Clough's ship was in October, 1793.

Of the Swan family Colonel James of Boston seems to have been a party to the pains, perils and freight proceeds of the alleged rescue. Associates in the Paris lumber trade, they also appear to have been parceners of the royal household belongings, as abandoned cargo of the probable return voyage of the Sally, in 1794.

On Swan's return to Boston after these revolutionary troubles, he built a stately mansion in Dorchester, which he adorned with costly French furniture and tapestries, among which was a "Marie Antoinette bed," and rich court dresses, reputed to have been the property of the ill-fated queen. It was the current rumor of the neighborhood of the Swan homestead. Even Drake, in reminiscences of the Swan relation to plans for the queen's escape, or other members of the royal family, speaks of the royal relics as having been stored

in one of Swan's vessels at Paris, in the reign of terror, and that between the guillotine which took off the royal heads, and Swan who took their trunks, there was little left of the unfortunate Frenchmen.

The ship spoken of is, no doubt, Clough's ship, Sally, which is found transferred to Boston during the transactions, in which, by charter, or otherwise, Swan had an interest in virtue of the Clough & Swan lumber business between Wiscasset and Paris.

CONCLUSION.

Stories of the dead and living members of Captain Stephen Clough's house had hearthstone tales of the "Old Clough House," with the recitals of notorious Boston Swan traditions, supplemented with royal household furniture and of the royal wardrobe in the Swan and Clough vessel, in addition to public current cotemporaneous hearsay, and aid by the French details of incident relating to the arrest, incarceration and execution of the queen, Marie Antoinette, gives credit to the theory of a "Tracking of a Romance," as published; and that the "Old Clough House" of Edgecomb should be recognized as the Marie Antoinette House in Maine, and that its relics and legend of her death scene are memorials of the infamous tragedy from which American hands would have saved her, in a refuge from the inhuman butcheries of Robespierre's reign of terror.

Captain Clough died in 1878, in sea service on the Mississippi river, it is said, and no papers or effects ever came back to his home.

THE MARIE ANTOINETTE, OR KNOX SIDEBOARD.

Upon the conclusion of Mr. Sewall's paper, Mr. Baxter, the President, gave an account of a sideboard in his possession. This interesting relic is a piece of antique French marquetry, semicircular in form, bearing a case for silver of similar shape, supporting an urn of elegant design, and has been known as the Marie Antoinette sideboard. The tradition is that it once had a home in the Tuilleries, and found its way to this country in this singular manner.

Marie Antoinette had been enthusiastically interested in the success of America in the revolutionary war; hence, when it became evident that she and the royal family were no longer safe in France, she naturally turned for refuge to the new country, whose cause she had so warmly espoused. Having gained the consent of Mirabeau to the flight of herself and family, arrangements were made with Captain James Swan, an American merchant doing business in France, to transport them to America with their belongings. Everything had been put on board Swan's vessel, which awaited the arrival of the royal refugees, but, as we know, they were prevented from carrying out their plan, and the vessel sailed without them, having on board a few friends, who were to accompany the unfortunate queen in her flight.

Of course the furniture and other valuables were never reclaimed, and were kept by the merchant to reimburse him for his risk and expense. His only son, James Swan, junior, came to America in the vessel as supercargo, and after his arrival visited the Knox

family and became interested in the General's daughter Caroline, whom he married.

This sideboard, brought by young Swan from France, thus found its way to the Knox mansion at Montpelier, and there it remained until the sale of the property, when it was purchased by a friend of the family. On the occasion of the visit of the Maine Historical Society to Thomaston in 1881 it was on exhibition with other Knox relics, and was then purchased by the present owner. The urn had been removed, but was traced by Mr. Baxter to Chelsea, and finally restored to its old position.

Captain James Swan, after his return to America, built a large mansion of unique design at Dorchester, Massachusetts, which was largely furnished with the belongings of the unfortunate queen and others, who came, or intended to come, in his vessel to America. Such is the story of the Marie Antoinette sideboard.

STUDIES ON FAMILIES SURNAMED COWELL, DOOR (DORE OR DORR) AND CHAMBERLAIN OF LEBANON, MAINE.

BY GEORGE W. CHAMBERLAIN, B. S., CALAIS, MAINE.

Ichabod Cowell, born December 25, 1734, appears at Rochester, New Hampshire, where Amos Main, first pastor and physician, charged him, September 18, 1756, for medicine.

In 1762, Ichabod Cowell was chosen field driver at the annual town meeting of Rochester. Soon after he became one of the original settlers of the First Division of Home Lots of Lebanon, Maine. He enlisted in the revolutionary war, November 25, 1775, with Gershom Plummer, Hatevil Nutter, John Bickford, John Trickey, and others from the adjoining town of Rochester, New Hampshire. He sold his farm in Lebanon, Maine, probably, to Colonel John Goodwin, who owned it at the close of the revolution, and who sold it (containing two hundred and forty acres) November 14, 1782, to Captain William Chamberlain of Rochester, New Hampshire. At about that time Ichabod Cowell removed with his family to the Second Division of Lots in Lebanon, Maine, where he either cleared up and settled on lot number 7, or on the lot adjoining that on the north. He had several children, among whom was a son Edmund, born November 1, 1766; died at West Lebanon, November 24,

1850. Edmund's wife Comfort died at Lebanon, January 25, 1856, aged eighty-nine years and nine months. He had another son Samuel, who settled in the north part of Lebanon, near Acton line, and for whom Cowell's Mountain, so called, was named. Ichabod Cowell died at Lebanon, January 9, 1823, and is buried in the Legro burying ground at West Lebanon. His descendants claim (1892) that he came from England.

DOORS, DORES OR DORRS.

Between 1760 and 1800, there were four families of the name Door living in Lebanon, Maine. The heads of these four families were John, Jonathan, Richard and Henry Door junior. Richard and Henry Door junior, and probably John and Jonathan, came from Rochester, New Hampshire, to Lebanon, Maine. Richard Door was charged for medicine by Amos Main of Rochester, March 5, 1757, the entry reading: "Richard Door of Towow (Indian name of Lebanon), Dr." From the revolutionary war rolls (New Hampshire), volume I, I find that John Door and Jonathan Door, both of Lebanon, Maine, were in Captain Caleb Hodsdon's company, and later in Captain Abraham Perkins' company, at New Castle, New Hampshire. Reverend Alonzo N. Quint, D.D., is authority for the statement that Philip and Sarah Door who removed from Newington, then a part of Dover, New Hampshire, to Rochester, New Hampshire, deeded to their son Henry land in Rochester, in 1742. Other members of the Dover (New Hampshire), Historical Society think that

there was more than one family named Door at Rochester, previous to 1746.

On June 27, 1746, a boy of the name Door was captured at Rochester, New Hampshire, and taken through the extreme western part of Maine to Canada. The church records (book II), of the First Congregational church of Rochester contains the following on the first page of the record: "Jonathan Door and John Richards were captured by the Indians 27 June, 1746." Also four men whose names are given were killed that day. This church record begins with the year 1762. The handwriting of the visitation of the Indians given on the board leaf of the first page, is very different from the church record writings, and seems to have been placed there at a much more recent date. Honorable Samuel W. Jones, M.D., in his Manuscript History of Lebanon, Maine, relates this story of the capture of the Door boy by the Indians. He gives the age of the boy "as eleven years old," I write the boy's age from memory, and it may not be exact. Doctor Jones further says that the Indians when on their return to Canada, spent the first night, the night of June 27, in the "Gully Oven," a natural oven formed in the side of Dixon's hill, located about one mile north of West Lebanon village. The Lebanon historian has recorded this boy's name as Philip Door, and informed me that the whole account is given on the authority of the old people with whom he conversed.

The church records (book I) of the First Congregational church, Rochester, New Hampshire, beginning

in 1737, contain the following incomplete record of Doors: —

1745-6 March 3, Philip Door jr., and his wife Lydia entered into covenant, and his wife was baptized, and their children Richard, Elizabeth, Mary, Olive, Lydia [and] Philip Door.

1746, Nov. 9, baptized Molly Door.

1749, Aug. 20, baptized James Door, son of Philip Door, Henry Door, son of Henry Door and [one other person].

1752, April 12, baptized Sarah Door.

1752, May 14, baptized Phebe Door, etc.

This leaves the question still unsettled. The families named Door now (1892) living in Rochester, Milton and Alton, New Hampshire, and in Lebanon, Acton, and Newfield, Maine, are descendants of the original Doors of Rochester, New Hampshire.

ORIGINAL CHAMBERLAIN FAMILY OF LEBANON, MAINE.

Captain and Deacon William Chamberlain referred to in "Parson" Isaac Hasey's Diary as having "finished moving" into town (Lebanon) January 16, 1783, was the son of Lieutenant William and Mary (Tibbetts) Chamberlain of Rochester, New Hampshire. He was born at "Newtown in ye Prov. of Mass. Bay in N. Eng^{d} 6 July 1725; died at Lebanon, Me. 13 Dec. 1815." He married, first, June 2, 1748, Eleanor, daughter of William and Margaret Horne of Dover, New Hampshire, who was born at Dover, July 17, 1726, died at Lebanon, Maine, October 8 or 25, 1791. He married second, at Lebanon, Maine, November 12, 1792, Mrs. Hannah (Young) Wentworth, widow of Gershom Wentworth of Somersworth, New Hampshire. She was born about 1748, and died at Lebanon, June

11, 1818, leaving a large family by her first husband.

Deacon William and Eleanor (Horne) Chamberlain had seven sons and three daughters, all born at Rochester, New Hampshire. Four sons, William junior, John, James and Thomas were the first settlers of Brookfield, New Hampshire, then a part of Middletown, New Hampshire; William J. felled the first tree there in 1770. They were called "Squire Bill, Lieutenant John, Colonel Jim and Captain Tom," the latter two having served in the Revolutionary army. The other three sons, Jason, a tailor by trade, Nathaniel and Amos L. removed with their parents to Lebanon, Maine, Jason lived in Lebanon until January, 1790, when he removed to Wolfboro, New Hampshire, where he died. Nathaniel and Amos resided in Lebanon. The oldest daughter Mary married William, son of Charles and Mary (McDuffee) Rogers of Rochester, New Hampshire, and lived and died at Wolfboro, New Hampshire. Daughter Margaret married Edward junior, son of Deacon Edward and Mary Burrows of Lebanon, Maine, where she ever resided. Daughter Alice, baptized at Rochester, May 21, 1764, is supposed to have died young, as all trace of her is lost.

William Chamberlain (who removed to Lebanon, Maine, in 1783) was a prominent man in both the church and town affairs of Rochester, New Hampshire. From 1756 to 1760, he was selectman of that town. On September 21, 1772, he was commissioned captain of the seventh company of foot in the second regiment of militia in the province of New Hampshire, by the hand of Governor John Wentworth. Four

years later, in 1776, he, with other members of the Chamberlain family at Rochester, joined "The Test Association" formed at Rochester to oppose the British fleets and armies at the risk of fortune and life. He and his wife were active members of the First Congregational church of Rochester. In September, 1778, he was chosen a deacon of this church, which office he resigned in March, 1783, upon removing to Lebanon, Maine. In 1799, he was chosen an elder in the First Congregational church of Lebanon, Maine, over which the Reverend Isaac Hasey then presided, and his son Nathaniel on the same day was chosen a deacon.

LETTER FROM JOHN ALLAN TO MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL.

MASSACHUSETTS ARCHIVES, VOLUME 201, PAGE 281.

MACHIAS, Sept. 10, 1779.

SIR:—The unhappy and unparalleled defeat at Penobscot has put this department in a most critical and dangerous situation, such as requires the most vigilant attention for its preservation. The various objects I am compelled to turn my thoughts and time to will prevent my being so explicit in my communicating matters as I could wish, but shall endeavor to give as much satisfaction as in my power. I informed the Honorable Board some time ago by letters from Passa-

maquoddy and this place of my proceedings a short time after the Britons arrived at Penobscot. After having settled matters at this place I went the second time for Passamaquoddy where I found the Indians in a far different temper than when I was there first, occasioned by our intelligence of encouragement from Saint John, and partly owing to some disputes among some persons of their own sect of religion who came with me, who I am much disappointed in. I was determined still to pursue my first object and to keep continually with them; after a few days I got them all back to me and formed them ready to march; on the first of August received an express from Brigadier-General Lovell desiring, if not inconsistent with my command, to go for Magabigwaduce.

The second day after I got the last of my Indians then present embarked and arrived at Machias myself the fifth; after arranging matters and settling the necessary measures for the defense of this place, I embarked on board the Nestquowoit the ninth, having forty-seven warriors and twenty white persons, provision and ammunition for the use of the whole, and most of the Indian supplies which came down, taking also the prize brig under convoy till she passed Penobscot; the wind being not fair did not get out of the river. On the tenth received another express from General Lovell desiring me to proceed with all expedition and bring as many of the militia as could be spared, also to bring the prize brig to Magabigwaduce for fear of being in want of provisions. I immediately gave orders for the purpose; the wind and fog contin-

uing prevented my proceeding. In the evening two Indians arrived from Passamaquoddy with intelligence that some armed vessels were there and a number of troops; this seemed to corroborate with accounts I had before received that the enemy intended a feint, or if possible, a real attack on Machias to divert our attention toward Penobscot. I thought it not prudent to proceed till I heard further, and accordingly dispatched two parties for intelligence by sea and through the woods; the same evening at the same time sent express to General Lovell.

Next day, eleventh, returned myself to order such farther necessary measures for defense. The twelfth, received accounts from Passamaquoddy that there was nothing more than some trading vessels under convoy of the Buckram schooner. The same day had a conference with the officers of militia and others, and gave my advice that but one-fifth of the militia should go from this district, as my going with the Indians would leave the place defenseless. In the evening Colonel Lowder arrived with another express from General Lovell desiring my attendance at headquarters. The Indians being in a fluctuating mood, occasioned by some difference among themselves, I did not get off till the fourteenth, about ten o'clock A.M., having with me, including a few militia, about one hundred men.

The fifteenth, the wind continuing head I set off with the Indians in canoes, all the whites in boats, ordering the vessels to push on as fast as possible and to assemble at Aggamogen Reach. The sixteenth, the wind fair to the eastward, saw the vessels, contrary to

my intention, stretching across; however, I pursued on with all expedition and the wind breezing occasionally the canoes to separate. On my getting to Mount Desert, the same evening, received intelligence of the arrival of the British ships and the retreat of our army, and that an express had come to give me notice. I was in much trouble about the vessels as also for some of the Indians who might not have had the intelligence. In consequence I dispatched off Lieutenant De Lesdernier with three good Indians by daylight of the seventeenth in quest of the vessels and canoes, and to order the former immediately into Frenchman's bay, as the provision might be transported by land to Penobscot if wanted; the latter to continue at Naskeigh. After I got my express from General Lovell and sent Major Stillman to receive the militia as they came in, and gave orders how we were to join; as I was still determined if the schooner was safe to join General Lovell, I proceeded for Naskeigh where I found several Indians and had the happiness to hear of the brig and schooner being safe.

On the eighteenth, from the great quantity of smoke, I imagined the enemy were burning the settlements farther westward; having but one-third of the Indians, no provisions or ammunition sufficient to go on, I returned immediately to Frenchman's bay, and to my great disappointment received word that the schooner and brig had proceeded for Machias, the captain having not seen Mr. De Lesdernier but received certain intelligence of a number of cruisers sent out, and that General Lovell's orders were for me to return immediately.

This entirely overthrew my plans and I found myself with a number of people, as about seventy militia had got together, and nothing to support them with. The Indians being disappointed in not getting what they wanted, particularly rum, which they always expect after a fatigue, became outrageous and by the vessels returning so precipitately suspected some grievous matter, and all I could do would return immediately to their families. In this time I received the horrid and melancholy news of the destruction of such a fine fleet and the dispersion of our troops, notwithstanding if I had had supplies should have made a diversion toward the enemy to prevent or deter them in their depredations, but from the many circumstances corroborating the precarious situation of this place and the difficult state of individuals in general through the country, I dismissed the militia, recommending to the officers a vigilant attention to have all in readiness at a minute's warning. I took upon myself, as I found the whole eyes of the country were upon me, and depended as being in commission the care of the whole, to issue another proclamation encouraging the inhabitants to stand out, and had conferences with the several committees; found they were determined to stand out all to the eastward of the Union river, and have since been convinced by their conduct of their integrity and sincerity. I returned with the Indians the twenty-second, where I found the schooner and brig. Immediately called a court of inquiry on the conduct of the captain of the Nesh'quo'woit in leaving me; upon the whole it appeared he acted from a principle

of saving the vessels and securing the cargo, and if any failing, an error of judgment.

By this time I perceived the situation of affairs to be desperate, and nothing but the utmost exertions and using every forcible measure without control or fear of censure would answer to save us from destruction. The cargo of the brig gave me the greatest concern as it was of so much value, and not knowing how approved of by the government, I used every possible caution about her till this time, for the safety of the country or its ruin depended upon my management with her; the greatest fear of the people was how they could subsist to defend if attacked. Upon the whole, thinking the states, by her detention, might be answerable if any damage arose, I took upon me to order three-quarters of what was left to be landed; all of which, except the butter, will be wanted if the country is to be defended. I gave a certificate accordingly to the master (a copy here inclosed), leaving it to the Honorable Court to order what farther they pleased concerning it.

The dishonorable flight (permit the expression), without censure from a feeling of mortification for the disgrace brought on the army of our country, of the Americans on Penobscot Bay river, has given a wound to our Indian affairs. They were always ambitious of the consequences and from the fear of the people were sensible that they were dreaded and feared, but now it has risen to a greater pitch; by the affairs of Penobscot, as they express it, "the safety of the country depends upon them, for what assistance can be

expected from Americans when so fine a fleet and army were destroyed without opposition." They threaten, menace and enter distant houses treating people ill; some are intimidated thinking the Britons will overrun the country, skulk away to the lakes, and others are for getting to Saint John, making an apology it is to defend their own river. I am obliged to let them go often a-hunting for fresh provisions, as they must be in action or drunk; most of them now are abroad and expect to hear of many going on to Saint John river, notwithstanding I keep people perpetually watching their motions and encouraging them. They are also much divided among themselves and abuse everybody behind their backs who have had any connection with them; their demands are insatiable and perpetual, being often obliged to employ them in expresses for want of others; must be paid to the highest and most extravagant rate, and not only must clothe men but women and children.

But under all this I flatter myself not any will fight against us, and by no means seem to diminish their attachment to the country or myself. I am unhappy with some whom I employed the past spring, and the divisions among themselves is hurtful to the interest of our court and that of our allies. Our situation from want of strength and the fear of creating a tumult among the Indians at this critical juncture obliges me to use every act of policy to keep ourselves in any posture of security. I have the intelligence from Nova Scotia by two authentic opportunities that the Britons had seized sixteen Micmacs and killed three; this

with the repeated correspondence kept up from this way will, I trust, divert their attention so as to deter them in the plan intended by the Britons. I have taken upon myself to order provisions from the stores, for the militia when going on duty as other ways they could not have done without such assistance.

By this opportunity I send Captain Preble to Frenchman's bay and Mount Desert to watch the motions of the army and endeavor to prevent the Britons intercourse with their friends at Union river, who, I have just received intelligence, intend joining them; this is done at the desire of the committees that way; if necessary shall have them disarmed and the principals secured. I have ordered Captain Preble to raise volunteers for the purpose, which the inhabitants will forward. I have deposited there some provisions, as also at Naraguagus, for public use, which much encourages the people through the country. I have but few men with me at present, expect some volunteers to the number of forty; have demanded a number of militia who are backward in coming, it being harvest, all in the service.

I keep at work at a small fort I am building round a blockhouse for the immediate defense and security of the stores; till such time as it is finished I shall be very unhappy and uneasy; as I can get strength shall secure every part as fast as I can.

I am very sorry the resolves of Court came so late, respecting the bounty for soldiers, as it is a time that none can be got. I am sending out recruiting and propose calculating the thirty pounds bounty so as to

give agreeably to the number of months, as some incline longer and some shorter.

I inclose returns of provisions, magazine, artillery and ammunition, the latter is very short. We must have more if possible to get along. The several excursions of this season (and what is left is damaged), with the great expenditure of the Indians who must have it, occasions this

Notwithstanding the order of Court several persons in the trading way, since the enemy have got the better, seem daring in their trading eastward. Corruption has taken such deep root in those matters that one screens the other; however, I have intercepted some and have now some principal persons in custody, which method I shall pursue till farther orders.

The Honorable Court may know our situation and what is to be expected from it. I shall not repine or complain as an individual. They will be sensible what is right to be done. I have only to add that my weak endeavor shall not be wanting to the utmost of my power. I have the honor, etc.,

J. Allan.

Hon. Jer. Powell, Esq.

SKETCHES OF THE LIVES OF EARLY MAINE MINISTERS.

BY WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON.

Presented to the Maine Historical Society, with an Introduction by Joseph Williamson, December 10, 1891.

[CONTINUED.]

REVEREND ROBERT DUNLAP.

Reverend Robert Dunlap was the first settled minister in Brunswick. The plantation, being revived, was incorporated into a town, June 24, 1737. At short intervals for ten years prior to the arrival of Mr. Dunlap, the candidates employed to preach there were Reverend Robert Rutherford, Jonathan Pierpont, Samuel Osborn and James Morton. Mr. Dunlap was born August, 1715, in the county of Antrim, Ireland, passed through his classic course in the university at Edinburgh, afterward pursued the study of theology, and at the early age of nineteen years received the degree of Master of Arts, and was licensed to preach. Embarking for America in the spring of 1736, he was cast away on the Isle of Sable, Nova Scotia, from which he found a passage in a fishing vessel to Boston, and proceeded thence to Dracut. There he engaged in a school till 1737; he then removed into the middle part of this state, and subsequently resided for short periods at Nobleborough, at Boothbay, and at Sheepscot bridge in New Castle, and in Brunswick. So highly pleased were the people of the last mentioned town with Mr. Dunlap that they, though few in

number, invited him in 1746 to settle with them, offering him three hundred pounds salary, in old tenor,[1] and house rent during the war. He accepted, and as he was a Presbyterian he was attended by two delegates from Brunswick to Boston, where he was ordained in the summer of 1747, there being no Presbytery at that time nor since, in Maine. The peace, the arrival of the reimbursement money from England, and the redemption of paper money, events of 1749, and the two following years, operated peculiarly upon the salaries of ministers settled under a depreciated "old tenor" or "new tenor" contract. For, though they had suffered exceedingly by its depreciation, the community were not generally willing to do them ample justice, when gold and silver became the only circulating medium. The late changes had their full effect upon Mr. Dunlap, and occasioned long disputes between him and his people about the just stipend he ought annually to receive as his salary. His preaching, though good, and much to their acceptability, did not overcome the difficulty, and hence a council was called, consisting of Reverend Mr. Smith, of Falmouth, and Reverend Mr. Morrill of Biddeford, with others, through whose influence it was mutually agreed between Mr. Dunlap and his people, October 31, 1760, that he take an honorable dismission, upon their paying him "all arrears, £200 old tenor," and he was dismissed accordingly.

Mr. Dunlap was never afterward settled in the min-

[1] Topsham agreed to pay eighty pounds of his salary, and Mr. Dunlap for some years performed a proportion of pastoral duties in that town.

istry. He continued to reside at Brunswick, and occasionally delivered religious discourses in neighboring settlements, as duty and a spirit of usefulness inspired, till within a few years before his death, which took place June 26, 1776, at the age of sixty-one years. Of his posterity are some of the most respectable and wealthy people of Brunswick, Honorable Robert P. Dunlap, late governor of this state, being his grandson, and David Dunlap, an elder brother, often a representative of his town in the legislature.

REVEREND RICHARD ELVINS.

Reverend Richard Elvins was the first settled minister in the second Parish in Scarborough. The fact was that Reverend Mr. Tompson preached alternately at the two settlements till the arrival of Mr. Elvins in the spring of 1744, when he was employed to preach at the Dunstan village and section of the town on Blue Point, and a second Church was formed amiably, and he was ordained in November of the same year. Both he and Mr. Tompson were supported by the town at large, till the legal division of the inhabitants and incorporation of them into two parishes in 1758, though there had been an actual separation about twenty-four years.

Mr. Elvins, prior to lawful age, had probably never entertained a thought of being a minister of the Gospel; but being converted under the powerful preaching of Reverend George Whitefield during his second visit to this country in 1740, Mr. Elvins felt it

his duty to change his employment. His father was a baker in Salem, where he was, himself, at that time, engaged in the same business for a livelihood. Though he had passed through too many years to think of entering upon a classical education, he betook himself to a course of reading and theological study, giving abundant evidence at all times after his conversion of his pure and sparkling piety; and, therefore, in less than four years, he was licensed to preach. He itinerated to Scarboro, where he became a very useful and acceptable minister of the New Testament thirty-two years. The same month in which he was ordained he married the widow of Reverend Mr. Willard, previously the minister of Biddeford, and proved himself a most excellent father-in-law of her bereaved children. His preaching was usually without notes; nevertheless he would compose on paper a very good discourse, and at least one written sermon, being that delivered in 1747, was printed. By this, if there was no traditional report of his abilities and learning, it is manifest he possessed a sound mind, evangelical sentiments, and preaching talents. His ministerial labors were incessant; and at the end of twenty-seven years after his settlement his health became so feeble and his people's love for him so great, that in December, 1770, a colleague was invited to assist him, who declined, however, and Mr. Elvins, through subsequent years of decay, was let down into the shades of death, August 12, 1776, at the close of a protracted illness, and at the age of about sixty years. In this man of God was evinced what the inspiration of the spirit

could wonderfully achieve without the aid and embellishments of erudition or philosophy.

REVEREND ROBERT RUTHERFORD.

Reverend Robert Rutherford, a native of Ireland, where he received a collegiate and theological education, came into this country about 1730-1731, under the patronage of Colonel Dunbar. He first preached to the reviving settlement at Pemaquid. Next he preached in Brunswick, where he was so popular that when the settlers in May, 1735, petitioned to be incorporated into a town, they alleged among other reasons this one: "because they had procured a pious and orthodox minister" to settle among them, and wished for corporate powers to raise money for his support. Though the town was not incorporated before June 27, 1737, he was the only preacher in that place till the spring of 1742. There is no evidence of his having been regularly ordained there, or of his having gathered a church. He was employed to preach on contract. In 1743 we find him engaged in the ministry at Georgetown. About this time the fort at Saint George was enlarged and rendered more secure; consequently, great accessions were made to the rising settlement begun in the immediate vicinity. Invited by the inhabitants, and encouraged by the proprietors of the Waldo patent, and by government, Mr. Rutherford became chaplain of the fort, and performed ministerial duties among the scattered settlements upon the Georges river till his death. At the head of his grave, which is not far from the mansion

house of the late General Knox in Thomaston, is a tombstone on which appears this inscription: "Here lies buried the body of the Rev. Mr. Robert Rutherford, A.M., who died on the 18th day of October, 1756, aged 68 years." He had been in this country about twenty-five years. He was a man of considerable talents, in sentiment a Presbyterian, and a good preacher; the more acceptable to the settlers because he and many of them were emigrants from Ireland. We find no account of his having been connected as pastor with any church in this country, though he probably had been ordained at home an evangelist and administered the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper. When Colonel Dunbar returned to England in 1737, he left his house, garden and stable at Pemaquid in the care of Reverend Mr. Rutherford; we find no account of his being a married man. He was no aspirant for fame or wealth, nor is it reported that study or luxury ever injured him. He was good and useful as he was great; he sowed good seed, but it was in the wilderness.

REVEREND JOSIAH CHASE.

Reverend Josiah Chase, Harvard College, 1738, was the first settled minister at "Spruce Creek," a central settlement in ancient Kittery through which the county road passes from York to Portsmouth. It is about equidistant from Kittery point and "Sturgeon Creek," the present Eliot. So long as Reverend Mr. Newmarch was able to preach, and the contract of the town with him continued in force, the inhabi-

tants attended on his ministry. But in the summer of 1750, when he expressed desires to have clerical assistance, the people at Spruce Creek, the northerly part of the present Kittery, were, on their request, formed into a separate parish; and on the nineteenth day of September, 1750, the professors in that vicinity were embodied into a church, and Reverend Mr. Chase the same day was ordained. He was a descendant of an ancient and worthy family in New Hampshire; a minister sound in the faith and strong in the Lord, but not distinguished for talents, learning or eloquence. There was some religious excitement in his parish, as in many other places, soon after the great earthquake in 1755, though it is not known to what extent. After a useful ministry of twenty-eight years, he came to his end, December 10, 1778, under very aggravated circumstances; for "he was frozen to death." So uncommonly severe was the weather of that winter that others suffered the same fate.

REVEREND ALEXANDER BOYD.

Reverend Alexander Boyd was a Scotch Presbyterian, who, having received a classic education at the university at Glasgow, and read divinity in the same seminary, emigrated in the spring of 1748 to New England. To the Boston presbytery, sitting at Pelham in June of that year, Mr. Boyd presented a certificate of his theological studies, and requested license to preach. Pleased and satisfied with his answers to extempore questions put to him, with his exegesis, *de necessitate satisfactionis Christi,* with his defense of

the thesis, with his lecture on the twenty-third Psalm, and a discourse on Romans 10 : 15, and with his exposition of certain parts of the New Testament, the Presbytery proceeded to give him the testimonials of their approbation, on his voluntarily subjecting the following : — "I do hereby profess that the Westminster confession of faith contains a most excellent summary of the doctrines, duties and government of the Christian religion, and as such I make an explicit profession of my belief of its articles. Alexander Boyd."

Afterward, in the same summer, on application for a minister by the Presbyterians of Georgetown to the Presbytery, that body sent to them Mr. Boyd for three months, with leave to preach at Wiscasset and Sheepscot, as discretion might dictate. So acceptable was he to the people of Georgetown that the church and town invited him to settle with them, and requested the Presbytery in August of the next year, 1749, to ordain him. But it being reported from Scotland, and confessed by him, that he had entered into an irregular marriage there with one Mary Buchan, which he had studiously concealed from the Presbytery, they sharply reproved him ; but as he manifested due penitence, and intended to send for his wife, they did not take from him his license, nor yet ordain him. During the three succeeding years he preached principally to the people of Georgetown, who were very fond of him, and expressed repeated wishes to settle him, occasionally visiting New Castle, and places on Kennebec river as a missionary. The people in the last mentioned town, in the summer of 1754, invited him

to settle with them, and on the nineteenth of September, the same year, he was ordained by the Presbytery at Newburyport; the trial appointed for the candidate on this occasion was an exegesis upon the question, *An peccatum originale sit in sua natura damnabile* But the settlement of Mr. Boyd proved to be an unfortunate occurrence to New Castle. The Congregationalists were always opposed to him; he acquired the character of being a pleasing, rather than a thorough spiritual preacher; he appeared to be remarkably lax in his regard for the gospel ordinances, for, even at the annual town meeting in the spring of 1757, it was formally proposed "to inquire into the reasons why the sacrament of the Lord's supper had not been administered by Mr. Boyd since his ordination." The town voted his conduct in sundry particulars was a grievance, and complained to the Presbytery, and before the close of the succeeding year (1758) he was dismissed. He had resided in the present state of Maine about ten years, appearing to have been more successful in multiplying dissensions than conversions. Let a divine always abide in the place where he has in any part lost his character till he recovers it. Had Mr. Boyd come to this country with piety, purity and zeal, equal to his talents, learning and elocution, the fame of his ministry would have extended down far beyond the third and fourth generations of his immediate charge. Mr. Boyd was the first settled minister in New Castle.

HALLOWELL RECORDS.

COMMUNICATED BY DR. W. B. LAPHAM.

[Continued from page 217.]

John Barker, son of John Barker and Lydia his wife, was born in Pittston, county of Kennebec April 27, 1789. Married Lovina, daughter of Joseph Williams of Readfield, January 9, 1814. Came to this town in February of the same year. Their children are: —

Albert, b. Nov. 28, 1814.
Cordelia, b. Jan. 28, 1816.
Levine W., b. Sept. 10, 1817.
John, b. Feb. 25, 1822.

Joseph Sydney Smith, son of Thomas and Elizabeth Smith, was born in Sandwich, county of Barnstable, Massachusetts. Married Judith, daughter of Joseph and Judith Wells of Newburyport. Their children are: —

Joseph Wells Sydney, b. Dec. 15, 1805; d. Sept. 6, 1806.
Thomas Wells, b. Feb. 16, 1807, at Farmington.

Mrs. Judith Smith died June 12, 1807, at Farmington, and on the fourth of April 1809, Mr. Smith married Mary, daughter of Enoch and Dorothy Greely of Hallowell. Came with his family to Hallowell, December 1809. Their children are: —

Anne Elizabeth Williams, b. Mar. 12, 1810.
Judith Wells, b. July 10, 1811.
Dorothy Jane, b. Dec. 27, 1813.
Joseph Wells Sydney, b. Nov. 26, 1815.
A daughter, stillborn, Oct., 1817.
Mary Caroline Temperance, b. Jan. 28, 1823.

Moses Palmer, son of William and Susanna Palmer, was born in Goffstown, state of New Hampshire, May 22, 1773. Came to Hallowell with his father's family. Married Hannah, daughter of Andrew and Hannah Goodwin of Hallowell. Their children are: —

Mills, b. Oct. 29, 1797.
Loisa, b. Sept. 17, 1799.

Mary, b. Apr. 19, 1801.
Julia Ann, b. March 1, 1803,
Moses Greenleaf, b. Sept. 19, 1805; d. Apr. 3, 1806.
Joseph Goodwin, b. Oct. 3, 1807; d. Oct. 20, 1807.
Alonzo F., b. July 12, 1810.
Amasa Davis, b. Sept. 24, 1812.
Hannah Louisa Stackpole, b. Jan. 9, 1819.

Mrs. Palmer died May 11, 1847.

John Hains, son of John Hains and Anna, his wife was born in Exeter, state of New Hampshire, Oct. 6, 1738. Married Mary daughter of Samuel and Mary Dudley of said Exeter. Came with his family to Hallowell, March 9, 1785. Their children are: —

Dudley, b. Sept. 1763, in Raymond, N. H.
Peter, b. Feb. 1763, in Raymond, N. H.
Mary, b. Jan. 1769, in Raymond, N. H.
Mehitable, b. Mar. 12, 1770, in Raymond, N. H., d. June 1812.
Joanna, b. Aug. 23, 1772, in Gilmanton, N. H.
Elizabeth, b. Aug. 21, 1774, in Gilmanton, N. H.
John, b. Jan. 7, 1776, in Gilmanton, N. H.
Daniel, b. Nov. 16, 1779, in Gilmanton, N. H.
Jonathan, b. May 30, 1782, in Gilmanton N. H.
Sally, b. March 29, 1788, in Hallowell; d. July 18, 1814.
Jerusha, b. Sept. 15, 1791, in Hallowell, d. March 10, 1793.

Mr. John Hains died May 6, 1809, aged 71 years.

Daniel Hains, son of John and Mary above named. Married Betsey, daughter of Joseph and Judith Wingate of Hallowell, October 10, 1804. Their children are: —

Joseph Wingate, b. July 21, 1805.
Mary, b. Apr. 16, 1807.
Sally, b. Sept. 19, 1808.
Betsy, b. May 28, 1811.
Abigail, b. Sept. 13, 1812.
Charles, b. June 11, 1814.
Susanna, b. Jan. 20, 1816.
William Abbot, b. Aug. 19, 1817.
Nancy, b. March 6, 1819.
Daniel, b. Jan. 27, 1821.

Mr. Daniel Hains died of consumption, July 1, 1838.

Jonathan Hains, son of John and Mary Hains before named,

married Sally, daughter of William and Abigail Sawyer, who was born at New Milford, now Alna. Their children are: —

Harriet, b. May 14, 1890.
William Sawyer, b. March 7, 1811.
Caroline, b. May 9, 1813; d. Apr. 27, 1832.
John Augustus, b. July 6, 1815; d. Oct. 20, 1840.
Sarah Ann, b. Feb. 2, 1817.
George, b. May 31, 1819.
Sophia, b. Dec. 23, 1821; d. Dec. 31, 1840.
Rufus, b. Feb. 22, 1824.
Greenleaf, b. June 17, 1826; d. Feb. 8, 1844.

Mr. Hains died May 3, 1829.

Daniel Evans, son of Daniel and Eleanor Evans, was born in Allenstown, state of New Hampshire May 24, 1767. Came to Hallowell 1793. August 11, 1793, married Joanna, daughter of John and Mary Hains. Died November 1842. Their children are: —

Eliza, b. March 15, 1795.
George, b. Jan. 12, 1797.
Mary, b. July 7, 1799.
Daniel, b. Oct. 6, 1802.
William Kinne, b. Aug. 20, 1808; d. Oct. 29, 1809.
William Augustus, b. Aug. 23, 1810.
Henry Clay, b. Dec. 8, 1815.

Nathaniel Cheever, son of Nathaniel Cheever and Elizabeth Bancroft, his wife, was born in Reading, Massachusetts, August 20, 1778. Came to Hallowell, Dec. 1781. Married Charlotte, daughter of Nathaniel and Sarah Barrell of York, who was born June 11, 1778. Their children are: —

Nathaniel, b. July 16, 1805; d. Dec. 8, 1815.
George Barrell, b. Apr. 17, 1807.
Sarah Barrell, b. March 31, 1809; d. April 18, 1811.
Elizabeth Bancroft, b. July 29, 1812.
Henry, b. Feb. 6, 1814.
Nathaniel, b. March 29, 1816.
Charlotte Barrell, b. May 6, 1818; d. April 13, 1820.

Mr. Cheever died March 5, 1819, at Augusta, state of Georgia.

William Livermore, son of Elijah and Hannah Livermore was

born in Waltham, Massachusetts, January 9, 1763, where he resided till the age of fourteen, when he was put an apprentice to Josiah Brown of Boston, merchant, with whom he continued till the age of twenty-one ; after which he remained in Boston four years, when he removed to a plantation then called Phipps Canada, now incorporated by the name of Jay, in the county of Oxford. On the seventh of September 1793, married Sarah, the widow relict of Jeremiah Jones and daughter of Elias and Mary Taylor of Readfield.

Mr. Livermore died September 3, 1838. Their children are : —

William, b. Jan. 8, 1794; d. at New Orleans.
Sarah Phipps, b. Nov. 13, 1799.
Danforth Phipps, b. Dec. 20, 1804.

Came with his family to Hallowell, September 1806.

Jesse Jewett, son of Moses and Mary Jewett, was born in Hopkinton, New Hampshire, April 5, 1780. Came to this town in 1803. Married Rebecca H., daughter of Thomas and Salome of Green North Yarmouth. Their children are : —

Mary Green, b. May 21, 1807.
Thomas Green, b. Sept. 24, 1808.
Catherine, b. May 24, 1810.

James Norris, son of James and Hannah Norris, was born in Chester, New Hampshire, May 21, 1743. He married Mary, daughter of Frances and Jedediah Towle of Chester, settled in Epping, New Hampshire, where he lived till December 1791, when hemoved to Hallowell and died February 1809. She died October 1810. Their children are : —

Judith, b. March 14, 1761.
James, b. Sept. 25, 1762, South Monmouth.
Polly, b. Oct. 6, 1764, South New Sharon.
Hannah, b. Nov. 25, 1766, South Monmouth.
Mercy, b. Dec. 13, 1768, South Monmouth.
Thomas, b. March 29, 1773, South Hallowell.
Francis, b. May 14, 1775, South Hallowell.
Simeon, b. Nov. 13, 1777, South Hallowell.
Mark, b. May 9, 1780; died in the army April, 1814.

Thomas Norris, son of James and Mary. Married Mary, widow of Abner Shepard and daughter of John and Mary Hains. He

perished on board a vessel which was upset on her passage to Boston, December 1813. Their children are: —

Shepard Hains, b. April 22, 1792.
Dudley, b. Jan. 7, 1796; d. May 7, 1817.
Greenleaf, b. Feb. 25, 1798.
Julia, b. Apr. 12, 1805.
Thomas Hannibal, b. Jan. 24, 1810.

Francis Norris, son of James and Mary. Married Margaret, daughter of James and Jane Blair, of Woolwich. Their children are: —

James Bowdoin, b. July 22, 1803.
Francis, b. Nov. 12, 1805.
Thomas Jefferson, b. Feb. 16, 1808.
Eliza Ann, b. June 1, 1811.

PROCEEDINGS.

December 10, 1891.

A meeting of the Society was held in the library, and was called to order by George F. Talbot, Esquire, at 2.30 P. M.

Mr. Bryant read a report of accessions to the library and cabinet since the annual meeting.

A memoir of the late William Mitchell Sargent, written by Doctor Charles E. Banks, was read by Reverend Doctor Burrage.

Mr. Parker M. Reed of Bath read a paper entitled the Dukedom of Sagadahoc, and Mr. Edward P. Burnham read a biographical sketch of the late Honorable Joseph Dane of Kennebunk.

Sketches of the Early Ministers of Maine, by William D. Williamson, with a preparatory paper concerning the Williamson manuscript papers, was read by Mr. Joseph Williamson.

A memoir of the late Edward Henry Elwell was read by Mr. Samuel T. Pickard.

Remarks eulogistic of Mr. Elwell and his work were made by Messrs. Brown Thurston, Reverend Doctor Dalton and George F. Talbot.

Votes of thanks were passed for the papers read, and copies requested for the archives.

Adjourned until 7.30 P. M.

The evening session was opened by the reading of a tribute to the memory of the late Doctor Fordyce Barker of New York, a native of Maine, written by his widow. It was read by the secretary.

The paper called forth remarks by Messrs. G. F. Talbot and G. F. Emery, in eulogy of Doctor Barker, and it was accepted, with a vote of thanks to Mrs. Barker.

A paper on the celebrated Duel between Messrs. Cilley and Graves, contributed by Honorable Horatio King of Washington, was read by Mr. George F. Emery, and it was accepted, with a vote of thanks.

JANUARY 21, 1892.

The Maine Historical Society held a meeting in their library, Baxter building, Honorable James P. Baxter, president, in the chair. Mr. H. W. Bryant, secretary, reported the following donations: — A copy of the first volume of the records of the proprietors

of the town of Raymond, from O. G. Cook of Raymond; a flag which was presented to the Stroudwater Light Infantry in the year 1805 by Miss Eunice Quinby, who afterward married Major Day of Portland, presented by Miss A. A. Broad of Stroudwater, in whose family it has been preserved for many years.

The flag is of heroic size, made of heavy silk with gold bullion tassels and fringe, and bears the lone Indian, who represents Massachusetts in the list of state seals, with the mottoes "Better Death than Dishonorable Life," and "From the Brave to the Fair."

The first paper of the session was "The Ancient Town of Augusta, near the mouth of the Kennebec," by H. W. Wheeler of Brunswick.

President Baxter read a paper on the Northmen, embodying the results of certain researches made by him in Rhode Island and elsewhere.

A biographical sketch of Reverend Robert Rutherford, by Honorable J. H. Drummond, followed. Mr. Rutherford, who was of Scotch-Irish parentage, was the first Presbyterian preacher in Maine. He was Dunbar's chaplain at Georgetown, and afterward, in 1735, went to Brunswick, where he preached for seven years, although he was not settled there. He returned to Georgetown and Pemaquid, and there went with Dunbar's widow, who married a land proprietor of Hallowell, to that place, where he remained as chaplain until his death. He was buried at Thomaston beside General Knox. He was an earnest, Christian man, not bound by lines of creed, and one

whose influence has lived, although his own name and even his resting-place have almost disappeared.

Honorable Joseph Williamson of Belfast gave an account of a collection of the historical materials used by the historian, William D. Williamson. When Governor Williamson died his library fell into vandal hands, and much of it has been lost. Careful search for many years on the part of Judge Williamson, however, has resulted in the recovery of some papers of great value. Governor Williamson, in the preparation of his history, sent out circulars to each town asking a series of questions, the answers to which, given by intelligent men, form an almost priceless synopsis of the history of the state. Of these one hundred and eight have been rescued. Governor Williamson seems to have engaged, in the latter years of his life, in the compilation of an encyclopædia of the biography of the state, for in the collection are sixty-eight sketches of prominent people, mostly lawyers, obviously sent in in response to a request from Mr. Williamson. At a previous meeting Judge Williamson presented a series of sketches of one hundred and one early ministers of the state, which were probably intended to be part of the same volume.

On motion of Doctor Burrage a vote of thanks was given Judge Williamson for his hard work in behalf of the history of the state.

Wm R Sapham

WILLIAM BERRY LAPHAM.

BY CHARLES E. NASH.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 3, 1894.

An eminent citizen, and a strong, industrious and exceedingly valuable member of the Maine Historical Society, has ended his earthly career, and passed from our sight. Dr. Lapham died on the morning of February 22, 1894. The malady (diabetes) from which he suffered had for a few months been steady and relentless in its progress. In pain and weakness he finally laid by his busy pen and waited bravely for the coming of the great change. His death was neither unexpected by his friends nor dreaded by himself.

> Calmly he looked on either life, and here
> Saw nothing to regret, or there to fear.

There were memorial services at the family residence in Augusta on the morning of the twenty-fourth, attended by many townsmen and friends and the representatives of several fraternal and literary societies.

The burial services were from the church at Bryant's Pond, in the town of Woodstock, where the dust was buried by that of ancestors and kindred in the village cemetery.

Dr. Lapham was the third child and second son in a family of seven sons and four daughters; he was born in the town of Greenwood, county of Oxford, to John and Lovicy Lapham, August 21, 1828. He was

of the eighth generation from Thomas Lapham who came from England to the colony of Massachusetts Bay in 1634, and settled at Scituate ; his father's grandfather, Abijah, joining the migration eastward from Massachusetts after the war of the Revolution, settled at Buckfield and founded the family in Maine. Four of the descendants of Thomas, the Puritan, fought in the French and Indian wars; twenty were soldiers in the war for independence ; and nine of the great-grandsons of Abijah, of Buckfield, were soldiers in the Union army, their terms of service aggregating twenty-three years.

Soon after the birth of William Berry Lapham, his parents moved to the town of Bethel, where the years of his childhood and youth were passed. His was the usual heritage of the typical farmer-boy, manual labor, deprivation, and prosaic surroundings, with little to incite the love for letters and learning or stimulate thoughts of ambition. But while yet a child William became a student, applying himself assiduously to the study of books and the acquiring of knowledge. He took advantage of the privileges of the district school, and there attained the acquirements that enabled him at the age of twenty years (having first purchased of his father the remainder of his minority), to enter Gould Academy at Bethel. In 1851, he entered Waterville college (now Colby University), which conferred upon him the degree of A. M., in 1874. Without completing the college course, he entered upon the study of medicine with Dr. Almon Twitchell, at Bethel; attended medical lectures at Brunswick and

Dartmouth, and finished his course in New York, in 1856; he then began the practice of medicine at Bryant's Pond, and continued it until the beginning of the war of the Rebellion.

Dr. Lapham's first service connected with the war, was as acting assistant surgeon in the hospitals at Augusta, Maine, during the fall and winter of 1861; his original entry into the United States service was on September 18, 1862, as commissary sergeant in the 23d regiment of Maine volunteers; he was promoted to be second lieutenant of Company F, same regiment, October 14, 1862, and to be first lieutenant, same company, November 15, 1862; he was mustered out with the regiment July 15, 1863; he was mustered as senior first lieutenant of the 7th Maine battery, December 29, 1863; promoted by President Lincoln, to be captain and assistant quartermaster of volunteers, March 8, 1865; remained with his battery in the siege of Petersburg until the surrender of Lee's army and the battery was ordered home to Maine; he was then mustered in the new rank and ordered to Vermont; was on duty there until mustered out by general order, October 30, 1865, as brevet major of volunteers. The field campaigns in which he participated were connected with the defense of Washington, and the siege of Petersburg. In the winter of 1864–65 he had command of the artillery in Fort Sedgewick, colloquially known as "Fort Hell." The principal personal incidents of Major Lapham's military service, as also many interesting facts relating to the other members of the organizations in which he served and to the organizations

themselves, were pleasantly narrated by himself in a rare little autobiographical book, entitled "My Recollections of the War of the Rebellion," affectionately dedicated to his children, — "Mary Cynthia, Ben William and Frances Beulah," — and privately printed in 1892.

Dr. Lapham returned from the war to the practice of his profession at Bryant's Pond. In 1866 he was appointed examining surgeon for invalid pensioners (which office he held for nearly two decades); in 1867 he was elected a member of the state legislature; in 1868 he was appointed a trustee of the Maine Insane Hospital. He served as a school officer in Woodstock, and also in Augusta; was postmaster at Bryant's Pond. He was a Freemason with the rank of Knight Templar; was commander of the Grand Army Posts both at Bryant's Pond and Augusta; member of the Maine Historical Society since 1872; of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society; of the Prince Society; corresponding member of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain; member of the Maine Society of the Sons of the American Revolution; a companion of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States.

But it is by his extensive literary work, and the valuable books which he has written or compiled during the last twenty years, that Dr. Lapham is now best known and will continue to be known to succeeding generations. He withdrew from the practice of medicine in 1871 and, removing his home from Bryant's Pond to Augusta, entered upon a purely literary

career. He became one of the editors of the Maine Farmer, newspaper, and for eleven years performed ably the duties of his position. In 1883 he resigned his editorship to engage single-minded in a more congenial pursuit. Local history in all of its branches was specially fascinating to him. He became an enthusiastic and diligent delver among the records of the past, always inclining toward those relating to ancient or noted families and the forgotten data connected with the beginning of early Maine towns. His first formal introduction to the public as a historical specialist was through the Maine Genealogist and Biographer, a quarterly magazine which he caused to be started at Augusta in 1875, and which he edited during its life of three years. From the birth of that publication, which was under the patronage of the Maine Genealogical and Biographical Society (of which Mr. North, the historian of Augusta, was the president), Dr. Lapham was wont with considerable pride to date the awakening in Maine of a permanent, popular interest in the subject of local and family history.

In all of Dr. Lapham's investigations, he was painstaking, critical and conscientious, insuring to his published works a remarkable degree of accuracy and a corresponding rank as historical authority. He was a ready and fertile writer, commanding a style of composition that is delightfully simple and direct, and as little influenced by the play of fancy or imagination as the terse prescriptions which he penned for his patients in the days of his medical practice.

As the towns are the units that compose the state,

so the local annals, however commonplace and humble, make the history of the state, and without them no complete record of the life of the people can be compiled. No man has ever delved more devotedly in the dusty pits for neglected records and forgotten data than Dr. Lapham. He was the workman in the quarry seeking for the ashlar blocks, rather than the artist-sculptor or the builder of the stately edifice. The department of local history will long feel the influence of his work. His books occupy a choice place on the shelves of all well-furnished libraries, and his name fills an unique and permanent place in the historical literature of Maine. The following is a list of his principal books and pamphlets : —

The History of Woodstock, 315 pp., 1882.
The History of Paris, etc., 816 pp., 1884.
Centennial History of Norway, 659 pp., 1886.
History of Bethel, etc., 688 pp., 1891.
The History of Rumford, etc., 432 pp., 1890.
The Bradbury Memorial, 320 pp., 1890.
The Nock or Knox Family, 34 pp., 1890.
The Hazelton Genealogy, 352 pp., 1892.
The Clason Memorial, 147 pp., 1892.
Recollections in the War of the Rebellion, 240 pp., 1892.
The Lapham Family Register, 31 pp., 1873.
The Ricker Genealogy, 20 pp., 1877.
Some of the Descendants of Rev. Nathaniel Chase, 18 pp., 1878.
Genealogy of the Hill Family, 16 pp., 1889.
The Bisbee Genealogy, 48 pp., 1876.
Some of the Descendants of Edward Chapman, 34 pp., 1878.
The Tilden Genealogy, 1876.
History of Augusta Lodge of Freemasons, 1892.
Historical Sketch of Hallowell, 1892.

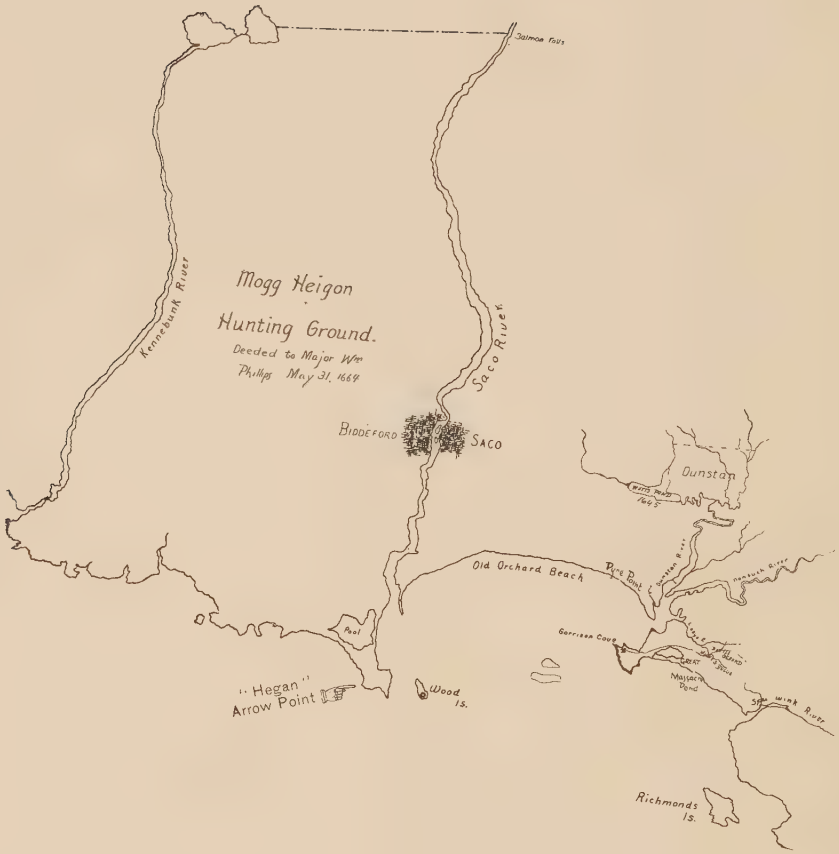
Dr. Lapham has done much valuable work in the Maine Historical Society, as the pages of its publications show. He was one of the projectors and first editors of this Quarterly. His pen was prolific, versatile and industrious, and furnished many miscellaneous sketches for the newspaper and periodical press. About a year before his death he undertook with great pleasure and fond hopes the compiling of an elaborate history of the town of Kittery, the earliest incorporated town in Maine (1647). He was engaged in collecting material and had made considerable progress in his work, when the pangs of advanced disease made the pen fall from his weakened grasp to the partly written page, never to be resumed.

While a young man, Dr. Lapham joined the Baptist church at Bethel. In later years he affiliated with the Universalist denomination. In the realm of politics he asserted the widest personal freedom, scorning all dictation or leadership whether of party or party bosses. His standard of morality was high; he abhorred pretense and sham; was intolerant of wrong in its every guise, and exacting for the right; rarely intense, but always brief in resentment; positive in assertion; strenuous of opinion sometimes to the verge of obstinacy, exquisitely sensitive to kindness and appreciation; strong in gratitude and true in friendship.

Dr. Lapham united in a happy marriage, November 27, 1866, with Cynthia A. Perham of Woodstock. Mrs. Lapham's strength was so overtaxed by her husband's protracted sickness, that it finally gave way, and she, too, fell painfully and for a time almost help-

lessly ill. The loss of the loving personal care of his devoted wife made it seem expedient to Dr. Lapham to be removed to the National Soldiers' Home at Togus, where he received until his death, the care and ministration of the hospital department, which had in great kindness been proffered to him by Governor Stephenson, and which was gratefully accepted on January 22.

Our friend and associate is with us no longer except in memory and the works of his pen. He fell while still busy in his favorite field, leaving unfinished his projected History of Kittery. His individuality and strength of character, impart a peculiar impressiveness to his life which was dominated by high purposes and signalized by worthy accomplishments. The farmer-boy, the aspiring student, the practicing physician, the soldier commanding, the editor, author and historian, these are the consecutive chapters in the earnest, diligent and useful life of William Berry Lapham, only the bare outlines of which are given in this imperfect sketch.


Salmon Falls
Kennebunk River
Mogg Heigon
Hunting Ground.
Deeded to Major Wm
Phillips May 31. 1664
Saco River
Biddeford
Saco
Dunstan
Old Orchard Beach
Pine Point
Scottons Brook
Nonesuch River
Pool
Garrison Cove
Goat Island
Majesco Pond
Scarborough River
"Hegan"
Arrow Point
Wood Is.
Richmonds Is.

MOGG HEIGON—HIS LIFE, HIS DEATH, AND ITS SEQUEL.

BY HORATIO HIGHT.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 31, 1889.

Who stands on the cliff like a pillar of stone
Unmoving and tall in the light of the sky,
Where the spray of the cataract sparkles on high?

Mog Hegon, alias Mogg, alias General Mog, was alternately friend or foe of the English settlers along the coast of Maine in the first Indian war.

Concerning the tribe to which he belonged there seems to have been a difference of opinion among those whom we have regarded as authority. Drake informs us that he was a chief among the Androscoggins;[1] he also refers to an Indian of the same name, who died in 1724, as the "chief actor in the first events." Hubbard says he was the principal minister of Madockawando. Belknap calls him "an Indian of Penobscot."[2] Willis says, "Prime minister of the Penobscot sachem."[3] Other annalists repeat the latter assertion, evidently with no thought of his being other than a Penobscot Indian.

With these oft repeated statements before us, we wonder whether it may be possible, two hundred years removed from his time, to find a trail of history that

[1] Drake's Book of the Indians, book III, page 105.
[2] Belnap's N. H., vol. I, page 120. [3] Willis, Portland, page 217.

may be considered of sufficient importance to convince some that whatever honor or dishonor belongs to this "most cunning Indian of his age," it belongs not to Penobscot, or Androscoggin, but to the no less sagacious tribe that inhabited the banks of the Saco.

There are traditions that quite clearly indicate that the Saco tribe was the primogenitor of the Abenakis tribes.[1] Parkman says, "Saco and Androscoggin have been held to be Abenakis proper." He also gives us to understand that an explorer landing at an early day on the shores of Massachusetts Bay, traveling eastward, would have found on the banks of the Saco, a tribe, quite different from those to the westward. Prisoners among the Indians in 1676–77 say, "Squando," the Saco sachem, "seems to be the chief sachem, even among the eastern Indians." Drake calls Squando a Tarrantine.[2]

Southgate tells us that the Saco tribe was more warlike than any of their neighbors, and were the continual dread of the Massachusetts tribes.

The Pequakets were of the same kith and kin, and together they were of high degree among their neighbors. As the "Sokosis tribe" they were held in high esteem by their descendants, who had advanced—wabena—toward the sunrise.

We affirm our belief that to this tribe Mogg be-

[1] In 1676 the English Commissioners succeeded in making a treaty of peace with the Indians at Piscataqua and Caskoe. Why did they pass by the Saco tribe save for the reason that the Saco tribe made no treaty except in conjunction with the Abenakis.

[2] In 1629 Penacook and other Sagamores desired the English to inhabit among them, "By which means we hope to strengthen against our enemies the Tareturns who yearly do us damage."

longed; that he was the same sagamore who, in a deed dated, "last day of May 1664," described himself as "Mogg Heigon of Saco river of New England, sunn and heyre of Walter Heigon sagamore of sayd river." By this deed,[1] the grantor conveyed to Major William Phillips all the land between the Saco and Kennebunk rivers, from the sea as far up as Salmon Falls on the Saco, and "soe far up the Kennebunk river, until it be opposite said Salmon Falls."

Mogg's inheritance was a hunting ground,[2] than which, there was none more desirable. The privileges for hunting and fishing were equal if not superior to any along our coast. The salmon in their season, the wild fowl in the fall and spring, the wild game of the forest, the clams at the pool, and the fish of the sea, all together rendered it a land of plenty.

The peculiar shape of the terminus of his hunting ground, or that part which extends into the sea, gave to it and its owners, probably for many generations, the name or suffix "Hegan."[3] The word "igan" or "hegan" in Algonquin signifies arrow point and the striking resemblance of the terminus of Mogg's inheritance to an Indian arrow point cannot fail to prove that Mogg Hegan meant Mogg of the Arrow Point hunting ground, and finally Mogg having sold his inheritance, thenceforth dropped the name Hegan.

Most of the early writers concerning the Indians

[1] York Deeds, book II, fol. 45.

[2] The country is cantoned into a great many little governments for every sachem or sagamore who was lord of a territory about eight or ten miles in length and gave name to it.—*Neal's New England.*

[3] Hegan or igan is primarily an arrow point.— *Prof. E. H. Horsford.*

refer to the fact that Mogg had been much with the English[1] and had learned their language. The fact that his father bore the name of Walter indicates that in his father's and probably his grandfather's day English influence was not unknown on the banks of the Saco. Even prior to 1600 English fishermen frequented Saco bay. In 1603 Martin Pring entered the Saco and sailed up to the falls. In 1614 Captain John Smith examined the coast with reference to his map of New England. In 1616–17 Richard Vines, in the service of Ferdinando Gorges, spent the winter with his crew of Englishmen at the mouth of the Saco; making his headquarters on the same land that Mogg deeded to Major Phillips. In 1631, Vines, Bonython, Lewis, Cammock, Joselyn and others were on friendly terms with the Indians of this vicinity; therefore, we may readily understand that Mogg had been much with the English, in fact had grown up with them, and had had an opportunity to learn their language; which opportunity, he certainly could not have had, surrounded by the French influence of Madockawando's court.

It was in 1664 when he deeded to Major Phillips his inheritance. Presuming he was of age — whatever that may mean among the Indians — when he signed the deed, he must have been well in his prime, eleven years later, when the first Indian war broke out.

The first mention of him in connection with the war, relates to the summer of 1676. It appears that Major Waldron had succeeded in making a treaty of

[1] "One that from a child has been well acquainted with the English." — *Hubbard.*

peace with the Indians about Piscataqua and Casco.[1] John Earthy and Richard Oliver had been sent from Massachusetts to "conclude a like peace with the Androscoggins, so there would be a general peace with all the Indians eastward of Piscataqua." "Soon after," says Hubbard, "comes a post from Teconet to desire the agent to repair hither to meet Squando and divers Androscoggin's sachems and that Mug had been sent post to fetch the sayd Squando."[2] It was fair to presume that Mogg was sent because he was well acquainted with his neighbor, the Saco sachem.

Squando,[3] chief sachem of the Saco tribe had a personal[4] grievance against the English which could not be condoned. He hated the English, and preferred war instead of peace. After several meetings of the council and many expressions of regret at the absence of Squando, the agents had so far succeeded as that "Tarrmekin, chief sachem of the Androscoggins, declared himself willing for peace; so did seven

[1] Cascoe,
Scarboro Owascoag,
East side of Saco,
West side of Saco,
West side of Kennebunk river,
West side Cape Porpoise river,
East side Piscataqua,
West side Piscataqua,
Skitteryguset, Sagamore.
Wickwarrawaska, Sagamore.
Squando, Sachem.
Mogg Hegion, Sagamore.
Flewelline, son of Sosowen, Sagamore.
Thomas Chabnocke, Sagamore.
Mr. Rowles, Sagamore.
John Hakin, Sagamore.

In 1690 Tobias Oakman was taken by the Indians at Black Point, at which time he says he personally knew Egeremet, who was then chief sachem of Kennebeck; Squando, chief sachem of Saco; Moxus, chief sachem of Norridgewock; Sheepscot John, chief sachem of Sheepscot; Orunby (Worumbo), chief sachem of Pejepscok.—*William M. Sargent.*

[2] There were two principal actors among them, Squando sagamore of Saco, and Madockawando.—*Hubbard*

[3] Squando, a Tarrantine sachem of the Socokis, commonly called Sagamor eof Saco—*Drake, book iii, page 102.*

[4] Squando died prior to 1685. Some English sailors upset a canoe in which was Squando's wife with her babe. They escaped drowning, but the babe soon after died. This outrage Squando never forgave.

or eight more, of whom Mug and Robin Hood were two."

In the beginning of the war Mogg was not numbered among the "enemy Indians." He made long journeys to consult with his chief sachem, and in the councils his voice had been for peace. But whatever his predilections, or however disposed towards his old-time friends, there was no resisting the war spirit, that was increased to violence by the wretched mistakes of the English, and fanned into a flame by the machinations of the French. All efforts to secure a lasting peace were unavailing. Even in the summer of 1676, while the councils were considering the matter of a treaty, war parties were killing, burning and destroying, and finally Mogg himself succumbed to the war spirit and led a force of one hundred Indians against the Black Point garrison. On the twelfth[1] of October he demanded its surrender and proposed a parley with Henry Joselyn, the commander. This worthy gentleman had lived at Black Point more than twoscore years; he had occupied positions of honor among the most prominent settlers of New England. In 1646 he was department governor of the province; in 1648, judge of Lygonia; in 1664, chief justice of the bench appointed by royal authority, and it would be no less than a reflection upon his good sense, to suggest that he went out from the security of the

[1] On the twelfth of October near an hundred Indians made an assault upon Black Point garrison. One called Mugg was the leader of the Indians, one that had from a child been well acquainted with the English and had lived in English families, who though a cunning fellow and had prevailed much, yet at this time showed more courtesy to the English than according to former outrages could be expected.— *Hubbard's Narratives.*

strongest garrison east of Piscataqua to parley with an Indian upon whom he had no hold of former friendship. It is only upon the supposition that Mogg[1] had been a neighbor, who had lived upon friendly terms with Joselyn, that we can reconcile this display of confidence.

With this understanding, we can easily imagine the parley was full of interest to each party; Joselyn was pleading for peace and security, not only for himself, but for those who had had homes around him. Mogg on the other hand was adroitly conducting his case with full purpose of gaining possession of the garrison. Joselyn would not fail to remind him of their long continued friendship, and of his earnest desire that they might continue to dwell together in peace. Unfortunately it was possible for the savage to refer to many acts of treachery on the part of the English. However this may have been, we have good reason to believe that the parley was of long duration, inasmuch as the occupants of the garrison became anxious concerning the result; and taking matters into their own hands, leaving the garrison and their commander in the hands of the Indians,[2] they quietly withdrew to a vessel lying off the neck.

No annalist has ventured an excuse for this apparently dishonorable conduct, while it is even probable that they acted wisely and well. Joselyn was already in the hands of the Indians. The offer that Mogg had

[1] Mogg must have been of good reputation for Captain Jocelyn left the fort to hold a conference with him — *Abbott's Maine, page 198.*

[2] October 14, 1676. This night had intelligence that the garrison at Black Point is surrendered to the Indians. Capt. Scottow at home here in Boston.—*Diary of Samuel Sewall.*

made, allowing them a peaceable departure in case they would surrender the garrison, was probably well known to all. Quite naturally they might have argued, "If the garrison is surrendered the Indians will release Joselyn." There was little to be hoped for if they retained it. Winter was approaching; desolation reigned from Pemaquid to Piscataqua. Walter Gendal was loading his goods into a schooner at Richmond island, for the purpose of leaving these hostile shores. The case was hopeless, and a defense useless. Joselyn returning to the garrison found himself and family alone. Their only alternative was to surrender themselves prisoners in the hands of the Indians, but as we hear nothing of them as prisoners, we may conclude that, through the continued courtesy of Joselyn's old-time friend, Mogg, they were allowed to join their friends on board the vessel. Just one year prior to these events the enemy Indians made the attack upon the Algers at Dunstan.[1] Then, and for sometime afterward, Mogg's voice had been for peace. Now, he was the proud chieftain of an hundred victorious warriors, in full possession of the strongest fortification east of Piscataqua. In this achievement Mogg, it is said, took great pride. Furthermore, on this same eventful day the Indians discovered a vessel at Richmond island, into which Walter Gendal was loading his effects from his Spurwink home and plantation.

This vessel,—a craft of thirty tons,—had been sent to Walter Gendal, agreeable with his earnest demand

[1] October 12, 1675. Andrew Alger and Arthur his brother were beset by the Indians at Dunstan. Andrew was killed and Arthur was mortally wounded.—*Hubbard's Narratives.*

made upon his friend Nathaniel Fryer of Piscataqua. It was commanded by Captain John Abbott, who was accompanied by James Fryer a son of the owner, and Thomas Corbitt junior, son of Reverend Thomas Corbitt of Ipswich, Massachusetts. These, with some soldiers from Black Point garrison, making eleven persons in all, were engaged in loading Gendal's stuff.

It requires no great effort to imagine the situation. They knew nothing of the affairs at Black Point; in fact, not a gun had been fired in the capture of that stronghold. We are sure that not an enemy had been seen; if so, they had been more cautious. The precaution to have worked only at time of high water would have prevented surprise. A few minutes' notice of danger would have been sufficient to enable them to call all hands aboard the vessel, and to get out of danger. But the land was a wilderness; almost everywhere it was wooded down to high-water mark, and everywhere the outskirts were dense with bushes, which even on the shore of the cleared land made a cover for the sulking foe. It must have been at time of low tide[1] when Mogg with his hundred warriors rushed upon the unsuspecting company. The vessel was lying near the "stage head." A part of Gendal's party were on shore and a part on the vessel; they would not leave a part of their company if they could. As it happened they could not if they would. The Indians coming to the "stage head," poured such a rapid fire upon the vessel that no one could safely

[1] Over against Spurwink lies Richmond island not far from the main land being divided therefrom by a small channel fordable at low water.—*Hubbard's Narratives.*

show himself on deck. Young Fryer,[1] making bold to do so, was wounded. The Indians succeeded in cutting the hawser; the vessel drifted on shore. Wind, tide and the fortunes of war were against them. There was nothing to do but to make such terms as they could with a victorious enemy. Even under these untoward circumstances Gendal showed shrewdness, for there is good reason to believe that he flattered Mogg with the idea that he was a "genarall" well worthy of the title.

The capturing of the strongest garrison[2] in the eastern parts, together with a schooner and eleven prisoners in one day, was a success such as no other Abenakis warrior had known. Henceforth agreeable with Gendal's suggestion he was to bear the distinguished title of Gennerall Mog.

Some of the warriors who had served with Mogg in this campaign belonged to kindred tribes to the eastward. The sagamores among them claiming a share of the prisoners; they cast lots for them and it fell to the lot of Captain Abbott and Thomas Corbitt junior, with two or three others, to go with the eastern sagamores.

These embarked in the captured vessel which the prisoners were obliged to navigate to the eastward and into Sheepscot river.

Mogg having thus separated from a part of his force conducted the remainder with his prisoners to the

[1] James Fryer wounded in the knee.— *Hubbard.*

[2] The Black Point garrison was strong and easily defended by a few men as any on the coast.— *Williamson.*

One fortification placed upon that Point, which a few hands might defend against all the Indians in that side of the country.—*Hubbard.*

westward. From Richmond island he went by the way of Black Point[1] garrison, and probably by way of the beach to Saco river. Here he now held undisputed possession of his former inheritance. To his narrow vision his land seemed well nigh redeemed; the Englishman with his deeds, obligations and engagements, had disappeared.

Only a few venturesome settlers were clinging to the garrison at Wells and vicinity. Elsewhere along the coast of Maine the savages reigned as in former times, with none to dispute their ancient rights.

Toward these remaining garrisons Mogg now turned his attention. Pursuing the method that gave him success at Black Point, he endeavored to win by it, what, with his reduced force, he had little prospect of winning otherwise.

Concerning the events that transpired at Wells we gain some information from the deposition of Henry Harwood, who informs us that "about the sixteenth of October thar cam Indians and fell upon some, kil'd one antient man, and a youth about sixteen years old and wound 3 "—"I being in the garrison called the mill garrison after seaueral shott shutt in upon us, came in one Walter Gendle to treat with us, his first salutation was with tears that he was a poor captive and yet he was sent by genarall Mogg to know whar we wold surrender our garrison—I desired him to carry a letter for us, his answer was that if he had moor than his own and Mogg's concerns they would

[1] Foxwell, Barge Shelden and others complained that Scottow employed the Boston soldiers cutting of pallisade stuff for a fortification for which there is no occasion or need.— *Harwood's Deposition Old Times in North Yarmouth.— Sargent*

kill him and the rest of the captives, as he had nine engaged for him."[1] So Gendal was in a strait, betwixt the welfare of his countrymen who were prisoners in the hands of the Indians and his countrymen in the garrison.

Undoubtedly he did very nearly as Mogg directed him, but whether coming with tears in his eyes, as a poor captive, was really designed to influence them to surrender, may admit of doubt; as the sequel proves, a dread of captivity, together with a sense of security prevailed, and Gendal left them confirmed in their determination to defend the garrison. So Mogg finding it useless to parley at Wells withdrew from that vicinity, probably to the vicinity of Piscataqna, where he remained while Gendal, acting as his agent, went with a four days' leave of absence to consult with his English friends. It appears that the Indian "genarall" had been prevailed upon to send a letter, asking for a letter of safe conduct from the governor of Massachusetts, that he might visit Boston to consider the matter of a treaty. Quite likely this letter was sent post haste to Boston by the anxious friends of the captives, and the answer, signed by the governor on the nineteenth of October granting safe conduct to Mogg, was returned to Portsmouth within the four days of Gendal's leave. Receiving this it was but the work of a few hours to bring the Indian "genarall" and his prisoners into town.

Gendal, provided with a vessel, crew and goods for

[1] Nine English to suffer torture in case he did not return.

a ransom, was immediately dispatched to the eastward, in search of the missing prisoners.[1]

We are informed that Mogg "was carried to Boston." As to the manner of his going authorities differ, and so strange is the difference that we cannot fail to notice it.

Williamson says, "Mugg was favored with an immediate passage to Boston." Drake presumes to be more explicit, informs us that "Genl Gendall, of Massachusetts, being at Portsmouth, forced Mugg on board his vessel and carried him to Boston, from which treacherous act, an excuse was pleaded that he had not sufficient authority to treat with him." In conflict with this, is the statement by Hubbard that Mogg passed by land to Boston, and that on the way he visited Reverend Thomas Corbitt of Ipswich, being there about the first and second of November.

On or before November 6, 1676, he arrived in Boston. It is fair to presume that no pains were spared to impress upon the mind of this half-civilized savage the greatness of the metropolis of New England. Boston[2] was then a town of five thousand inhabitants. Some of the streets were paved; many of the buildings standing close together on both sides of the streets. The city contained three meeting-houses and a townhouse. Besides these there was the governor's residence, and there were two constant fairs for daily

[1] Among those most deeply interested were Nathaniel Fryer, of the Great island in Piscataqua river, and the Reverend Thomas Corbitt, of Ipswich, Massachusetts. These gentlemen had each a son captured at Richmond's island. James Fryer was returned by Mugg, but soon after died of his maltreated wound. Thomas Corbitt junior, was still a prisoner somewhere in the eastern part.

[2] In May, 1676, fifty persons died in this little town (Boston), whose census including soldiers in the field did not exceed six thousand.— *E. E. Hale.*

traffic thereunto. He was undoubtedly shown the stores of great artillery, and heard much concerning the powerful army then making war upon the Narragansetts.

The dignity of the government of Massachusetts as maintained by the governor and other officers, together with the great council of the general court, was well calculated to impress upon the mind of the Indian leader the power of the government and the hopelessness of resistance on the part of the natives.

Alone and single-handed, without council, after the manner of his tribe; surrounded by undue influence, he proposed to make a treaty in behalf of Madockawando, the chief sachem of the Abenakis tribes.

In this matter he had to do with John Earthy, and Richard Oliver, agents of Massachusetts, whom he had previously met at Teconet.

One acquirement rendered him better fitted for this service than any other of his tribe, viz: He understood enough of the English language to express his thoughts, and to enable him to appreciate the aggressive spirit of those, into whose hands he had surrendered himself as an amdassador.

He was too wily a foe to fail to see that it was useless for him to do otherwise than assent to whatever they might demand, as the treaty itself gives evidence.

TREATY.[1]

Covenants and agreements made and concluded by and between the governor and council of the Massachusetts colony in New England on the one part; and Mugg Indian, in the name and on

[1] From Neal's New England.

the behalf of Madockawando[1] and Chebartina, Sachems of Penobscot, on the other part.

(1). Whereas, the said Mugg hath been sent and employed by the said sachems upon the treaty with the said governor and council relating to a conclusion for himself, and in behalf of the said sachems, that from henceforth they will cease all acts of hostility, and hold an entire and firm union and peace with all the English of the colonies of New England.

(2). That immediately on the said Mugg's return the said sachems shall deliver up to such Englishmen, or men, as shall by order of the said governor and council be sent with him, all such English captives, vessels, and goods whatsoever, arms and great artillery belonging to the English, as are in their custody or under their power, as have been taken from them during the time of the late hostility.

(3). That they shall use their utmost endeavor with all possible speed to procure pay, wherewith to make full satisfaction to the English, for all such injuries as they have sustained by them in their housing, cattle or other estate during the time of the late hostility, or else to pay such a number of beaver skins yearly in order thereunto, as shall be agreed on between the said sachems and such person or persons as shall be sent to them from the said governor and council for the ratification hereof, to be paid at such time and place, as shall be then agreed upon.

(4). That upon consideration of the English furnishing of them with powder and ammunition for their necessary supplies and maintenance, they do covenant and promise not to trade for or buy any powder or ammunition, but of such persons as shall from time to time be deputed by the governor for that end.

(5). That if it appear that Walter Gendal and the men sent with him in the vessel from Piscataqua (with goods from Mr. Fryer for the redemption of the captives according to agreement) or any of them are surprised and any of their Indians or any others whom they can bring under their power, that they shall forthwith execute such murtherer or murtherers, or otherwise deliver them up into the hands of the English.

[1] Madockawando died 1698.

(6). That if the Androscoggin or any other Indians in the eastern parts that are in hostility with the English shall not fully consent to these covenants and agreements, but shall persist in acts of hostility against the English, that then the said sachems shall and will hold all such Indians to be their enemies, and take up arms against them and engage them as such.

(Lastly). The said Mugg as a pledge and assurance of his own fidelity, and that he is empowered by the said sachems for the end above said and for the performance of the above mentioned agreements, doth freely and willingly deposit himself and his life in the hands of the English to remain with them as a hostage until the said captives, goods and vessels shall be delivered up.

Boston, November 13, 1676.

Sighed in the presence of

JOHN EARTHY,
RICHARD OLIVER,
ISAAC ADDINGTON,

The mark of Mugg W. Indian.

Thus Mogg was induced to sign a treaty that contained impossible conditions, and notwithstanding his letter of safe conduct from the governor, he became a hostage for the fulfillment of its obligations.

[To be continued.]

THE STORY OF THE PRESUMPSCOT.

BY CHARLES S. FOBES.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, January 25, 1894.

Recently, in a description of the Asiatic peninsula, Mozoomdar said, "The Himalayas — the grandest of the mountains of the world. The great rivers of India there take their rise, the Indus, the Ganges, the Bramapootra; and there, on these three rivers are three great peoples. That river — that great river — the Ganges; it creates, it preserves, it destroys. It brings down great quantities of earth from the mountains and creates abodes for villages; it forms great highways for the nations and at last receives the ashes of the faithful inhabitants. And it destroys; tremendous is the havoc which the flood of the Ganges makes. Who knows whether, before to-morrow's sun, yon village will stand or fall through its might. When the monsoons take up the water from the sea and hurl it against the Himalayas, the rainfall is tremendous."

Compared with these mighty rivers our little Presumpscot appears insignificant. No mountains form its birthplace, nor do the storms of the ocean with their hurling rains disturb the evenness of its flow. It creates in manner unlike the eastern waters, not wealth in land but wealth in power, giving the means of shaping for man's use the trees which years ago began their growth along its valleys. It preserves in its associations the memory of many an event in

local history, and never does it rise from its equable flow to destroy with flood any of the villages along its banks. It is rich in historic interest and the scenery along its course is charming and picturesque. Here it flows with rippling current over rugged rocks, and there its course is through wide intervales, dotted with stately elms. For several miles above Saccarappa, the quiet beauty of the scene gives no hint of the power of the river as it tumbles down the falls.

The necessities of the early New Englander gave little time for sentiment, but we of the later day ought to cherish with fondness all that contributed to the making of the lives of our ancestors.

Modern exactness finds difficulty in making many of the old-time descriptions of territory compare with the sections described. It is easy to forget the difficulties of ascertaining metes and bounds in new countries, and the adventurous first comer can but slowly make known to the outer world the names he gives to mountains and streams.

In these early times the seller could afford to be generous in measurement and make liberal allowance for mountain and swamp, and it was the custom, up to within about one hundred years to allow one rod in sixty for the "swag" of the chain.

But generosity will not always account for the discrepancies which are found. Where the boundaries were but little known, it was easy to represent that a landmark was one mile from the shore when in fact it was two. A river, whose name was strange and whose course was little understood, might be totally misrep-

resented. When so many of the early settlers were unable to correctly spell their own names, there is no cause for wonder that when they were called upon to spell the names given by the Indians to rivers, mountains and sections, there should be found a great diversity. Such was the case with the Presumpscot. It was spelled Presumsca, Presumkeak and Presumkeag. Sullivan supposes the original termination to have been in "eag," this signifying land in the Indian language. A number of Indian names with this termination readily suggest themselves, Kenduskeag, Passadumkeag, etc. Rev. Edward Ballard, in his examination for the United States Coast Survey (1868), is of the opinion that the name as anglicized was different from any of these. He says, "this word shows that the tendency of the early settlers led them to make it conform to some better known English word. Here they adopted the idea of the word presumption. There are several ways of writing it. Pesumpscot comes nearest to the true form, which divided into its parts presents, Pes, much; omp, from wampi, clear, shallow, where the bottom can be seen; and cot a locative. The meaning will be 'many shallows river,' corresponding to the many rips found in its course, or as the Indian governor at Old Town explained it, 'rough places river.'"

Through whatever transitions the name passed, and whatever its primary signification, it finally crystalized into that by which it is now known and will probably remain unchanged for centuries to come.

Long before the white man came or a name had

been given by the aborigines, the river had been making its mark upon the surface of the country. Through the hard rocks which form a portion of its banks, it had been steadily cutting its way deeper, the line of the channel probably not much different from its present course. Where the banks were more yielding it undermined until it caused great slides of the land, which filled the old and opened a new channel. It is useless to conjecture when these occurred and all may be classed as prehistoric.

Saccarappa is built upon a great landslide, or rather it was in part a slide and in part a subsidence. An area of this character of about two hundred acres is marked by abrupt embankments, whose height varies from ten to thirty feet. By the inhabitants this region was known as the "cellar," and was popularly supposed to be the bed of an ancient lake. The main street is built upon land which has filled what was once the bed of the river. When the "cellar" was cleared, the plow turned to the surface soils of such varied character as to prove there had been no lake, as occasionally a log would be struck one end of which would be near the surface while the other was deep in the earth. Some time ago in digging a well near the corner of Main and Bridge streets, at a depth of thirty feet, the workman found the trunk of a large tree. Later, in 1867, about one hundred feet from this, in digging for the foundations of a mill (Lisks) the same thing was found. In this same year in excavating for a sewer opportunity was afforded to examine the different soils. Trunks and limbs of trees

were found, fragments of the white birch with the bark still inclosing the decayed wood. Green leaves were also taken out. Judge Ray has, or had recently, one of these which was bedded in clay eleven feet under the surface. This indicates that the time when the slide occurred cannot be very far back, although no record indicates any knowledge of the fact by the earliest inhabitants. This of course, changed the course of the river.

Professor E. S. Morse has advanced the theory that previous to this the waters of the Presumpscot emptied into the Fore river. The contour of the land hardly sustains his theory, nor would there have been sufficient water from the present tributaries to cut the wide and deep channel of the river at the lower falls.

May 5, 1831, a large slide occurred on the north side of the river near Pride's bridge. The greatest of the slides within historic days took place above that at the bridge and about one third of a mile below the village of Cumberland Mills, on November 22, 1868. The bed of the river some two hundred feet in width was filled for half a mile with debris. The sight presented was singularly wild. The clay had been forced into billows and the ridges crowded upon each other. Trees were twisted and broken. Some of the stately elms in the intervale beyond showed marks of soft clay four feet above the surrounding level. Entwined about them were smaller trees caught by the elms as the torrent of clay swept by. This is not like the destroying flood of the Ganges, but arable land was made useless by the huge masses of clay. The old

bed of the river was obliterated and the dam formed caused a rise of the water some fifteen feet, stopping for a time the mills above.

The Presumpscot is but twenty-two miles long and is the outlet of Lake Sebago. A short river, its basin is correspondingly small. With a course in the main straight, its basin is naturally long and narrow. The extent of the basin is about five hundred and fifty square miles. The fall is very gradual, there being on the river seventeen water powers about one mile apart with an average fall of less than fifteen feet. The greatest of these is the power at the lower falls in Falmouth twenty-two feet, and the smallest is on the river between Standish and Windham, which is only eight feet.

Sebago is the great reservoir. Because of its depth it is cool, so evaporation is slow. It is estimated that more than one half of the rain fall of the basin finds its way through this river to the sea. No river in the state, except perhaps the Messalonskee, is as equable in its flow, the variation being not more than two feet. No drought seems to seriously impair its efficiency, and the great extent of the lake at its head prevents any serious freshet.

The first settlers naturally found the bays less exposed than the open sea, and the islands afforded better protection from the Indians than did the main land. Yet they could not long be content with such enforced isolation. The Indians had long before learned what waters afforded the most reliable sustenance. The adventurous Levett had sailed up the harbor and a

little along the coast. At first he found his way up Fore river, which, the Indians had told him, was full of salmon and other good fish. As he cruised in an opposite direction he found the Presumpscot with its settlement of Indians. He writes, "In the same bay I found another river up which I went three miles and found a great fall of water much bigger than the great fall at London bridge at low water, further a boat cannot go, but above the fall the water runs smooth again. Just at this fall of water the sagamore or king hath a house where I was one day, when there was two sagamores more, their wives and children, in all about fifty and we were but seven." This sagamore was Skitterrygusset, who was chief of the Aucocisco tribe, which dwelt between the Saco and the Sagadahoc. He it was who killed Walter Bagnall at Richmond's island in 1631. Skitterrygusset was not brought to justice for the murder, nor does it appear that any attempt was made to investigate the affair or to punish the offender. This chief was the first to give deeds for land in this section, and the creek near the mouth of the river still bears his name.

In 1631 and 1636 grants were made by the council of Plymouth in England which included all the land from Spurwink to the river in Casco. These were made to Robert Trelawney and Moses Goodyear. This was followed by the long contest between Cleeves, Tucker and John Winter which is full of interest but bears upon the story of the Presumpscot only as it presents for consideration "the river of Casco." The dispute was as to whether by this was meant the pres-

ent Fore river or the Presumpscot. These two rivers formed the eastern and western boundaries of that section over which the landed proprietors contended so long and so bitterly. For more than a century was the contest carried on. As late as 1769 the Jordan proprietors claimed the northern boundary to be a river called the Casco or Presumpscot. In 1640 the court had decided that our Fore river was the river of Casco. Not long afterward a certificate was forwarded to England stating that the court was in error, and the Presumpscot was the true Casco. This pretended to be founded upon the statements of Indians and settlers. Again was revived the quarrel which so long vexed the souls of these early people of Falmouth. Death of the original litigants and anxiety as to safety from Indian violence interrupted the legal warfare and a compromise was finally made by which Dominicus Jordan released to the town of Falmouth all title from himself, his heirs, and all and every other Jordan whatsoever, in any land between the rivers.

About 1632 Arthur Mackworth settled upon a grant of land on the east side of the Presumpscot. He was a man of affairs and for many years a magistrate. Gorges appointed him to deliver possession to Cleeves and Tucker in 1637. The community is to be congratulated that through the efforts of Mr. Baxter the island which bears his name is now properly called Mackworth instead of being known as Mackeys Island.

Religious persecution was not very severe here, but the sharp eye of the Puritan could detect anything contrary to his doctrine, even though it happened so

far away as the mouth of the Presumpscot. Mackworth died in 1657. His widow continued her residence here until 1675. Robert Jordan, with a diocese extending from the Saco to the Sagadahoc, was a clergyman of the established church. With this church Mackworth was also connected. The two men were friends and after the death of the layman the clergyman still continued to visit the home and sometimes baptized children there. In 1610 he was, by the general court, "enjoined from exercising the rite of baptism"; not on account of unworthiness, but because of the form used, which was according to the book of Common Prayer.

The general court thought it better that children should go unbaptized than that the rite should be performed according to the Prayer Book. He had baptized three children of Nathaniel Wallis, and it was for this the court laid its hand upon him, and for this he was afterward imprisoned two years in Boston. Jordan was not only a clergyman, but a shrewd man of business. The son-in-law of Winter, he managed so well for himself that by means of heavy charges against the Trelawney property he finally obtained possession of all the real estate in the county and a good part of the personal. Poor Jordan, not only was he accused of baptizing children in an unlawful way and of managing estates to his own advantage, but also of "swearing commonly by the eternal God" and of being "an unusual liar" and "of fomenting and raising lies." Jordan was an aggressive, pugnacious man, ready to enforce his claims at all times. In 1657 he quarreled

with Cleeves in regard to a right to erect mills at the Falls. In August of that year Cleeves sold to John Phillips, a Welsh miller, fifty acres of land on the southwest side of the Presumpscot, adjoining the last falls on that river and between "said mill falls and Richard Martins land." Phillips was the first to build any mills in this part of the town and he staid here until driven away by the war with the Indians. Meantime Jordan laid claim to this privilege as against Cleeves, claiming it under grant from Tucker and by covenant with Phillips. The case was carried into the court and was the first brought before it after the supremacy of Massachusetts had been been acknowledged. The settlers were weary with controversy and petitioned the court not to allow Jordan's claim, saying that such a decision would result in deterring all new comers from the settlement.

Notwithstanding the annoyance caused by Jordan, settlers occupied the banks of the river from the mouth to the falls. In 1658 there were but three families on the west side, viz: Martin, from whom the point is named, Corbin, who married Martin's daughter and lived on the adjoining farm, and John Phillips the miller. The east side had from the beginning proved the more attractive, probably on account of better facilities for landing. The daughters of Mackworth had married and settled along the river. New men also came with their families and settled above the Mackworth's, near the falls.

In 1672 (August 14), Jenkin Williams, George Felt and Francis Neale brought the land on the east

side of the river, up to the lower end of the mile square.

While the lower Presumpscot was being settled the choice locations further up were also being secured by settlers who went there by way of the Fore and Capisic rivers. When Levett explored the river which he wished to bear his name, he must have found the Indian planting ground which was a short distance below the falls at Cumberland Mills. These planting gounds were selected in localities suitable for the growth of corn and near the waters which would afford fish as food for the planters, as well as material to "fish the corn," a fish being placed in each hill as a fertilizer. George Munjoy, who had settled on the neck, our Portland, had found his way to that part of the Presumpscot and in 1666 bought of the sagamores Nunateconett and Warabitta, the land which was "to begin on the other side of the Ammoncongin river at the great falls, the uppermost part of them called Sacarabigg and so down the riverside to the lowermost planting ground," etc. This was the deed of the famous mile square.

This name, Ammoncongin, was shortened into Congin, which name the place bore for many years. Amoriscoggin or Ammoscoggin means literally "the high fish place." Were Ammoncongin and Androscoggin originally the same? The definition fits both. Saccarappa or Sacarabigg is said to mean, "where it empties toward the rising sun." The first two syllables are same as Saco and Sagadahoc applied to the mouth of the Kennebec.

Although the settlements were growing, the means of communication were limited. The river was the highway, and the boat the means of communication. The roads were poor and probably little better than paths. In 1669, both Falmouth and Scarboro were presented at the general court because their roads were not passable. There were no bridges at first. The fallen log across the stream was the first foot bridge. When horses came then stronger and larger bridges were built, and later came the bridge wide and strong enough to allow of travel with a cart.

In 1666 the east bank of the river had passed from the possession of the red man into that of the white-man from the falls of Sacarabigg to its mouth. The relations between the natives and the settlers were apparently harmonious. The people were industrious and enterprising and the little colony gave promise of prosperity. Their happiness was to be of short duration. King Phillip's war had begun in Massachusetts. In sympathy with their brethren the red men of Maine took up the tomahawk. Their bloody work was begun on the east side of the Presumpscot. Wakeley's family was the first to feel the blow. The Wakeleys, father and son with the wives of both, and their children, except one carried into captivity, were butchered in cold blood. When George Ingersol, who had seen the smoke of the burning houses from his home at Capisic, arrived the next day, he found only the scattered bones of the family and the blackened ruins of the home. The savage fiends carried their warfare as far as the Saco, then came back a few weeks later,

killed Ingersol at Capisic and, following the river down, killed ruthlessly all who had not been able to escape to the garrison house at the Neck. This was the doom of Falmouth. The blow had crushed it. Some went to Salem, others found homes elsewhere, and the thrifty settlements were abandoned to their former savage owners.

Peace was made in 1678, but fear kept the people a long time from returning. When they did they settled in closer proximity in order to better protect themselves. For this reason Fort Loyal was the neighborhood where they first took up their homes. As the business at Capisic had increased, it is fair to suppose that the thrifty New Englanders would not allow the improvements at the lower Presumpscot long to remain idle. There is no direct record as to what was done, yet indirectly there is evidence that the mills at the Falls had fallen into the hands of Walter Gendall, who was among the first to fall at the outbreak of the second Indian war.

In this war the settlement at old Casco—Fort Loyal—was destroyed. The people few, weak and poorly armed, were deserted in a most reprehensible manner by Massachusetts. There is no record that anything of special interest occurred on the Presumpscot during this war. From silence and from the fact that the better protected settlement at Fort Loyal had been obliterated it is presumed that the settlement at the Falls perished with it.

The war continued until 1698, Madockawando, a relentless foe, was dead and a treaty of peace was

signed, January 7, 1699. There was peace but solitude as well, for the whole of this once well-settled territory was again left to the savage and the wild beast.

The same attraction which existed in the early part of the century still induced settlers to turn this way again. Gradually they came, first to Spurwink, then to Purporduck Point (Fort Preble), and finally to the mouth of the Presumpscot and up as far as the falls. The sad fate of Fort Loyal deterred them from settling there—old Casco—so they again sought the east bank of the Presumpscot. The new settlement was christened "New Casco." The old name has again been adopted for the place and the steamer landing is called Madockawando.

At the settlement a fort was built, known as Fort Casco from which was a covered way running to the blockhouse on the shore. Here was held a notable conference. In 1793 Governor Dudley met the Indians at this place. A great number of the braves from many of the tribes of Maine were present, gay with paint and feathers. There was the usual deceit. With profuse demonstration they professed the strongest desire for peace, yet within sixty days that desire was extinguished. The war whoop again sounded, every garrison was attacked and not a house was left standing. In 1716 the fort was demolished, Massachusetts had no money to spend for the protection of the settlers in her newly acquired territory. In a way more forcible than polite they gave notice that they must look out for themselves. Driven by necessity, they sought refuge at Old Casco, and again the settlement

at the Presumpscot was abandoned. History was repeated as the settlers returned after a time.

In 1729 was laid the foundation of a large and for a long time a prosperous business further up the river, at Saccarabigg. December second of that year, the valuable power at this place was disposed of to Benjamin Ingersol, John Bailey, Benjamin Larrabee and others for mill purposes. This was the beginning of the lumbering business there, a business which continued for more than a century and which has made many fortunes. It is difficult today to realize the magnitude of the operations there carried on. Many a citizen can remember the teams heavily loaded with boards, sugar boxes, shook &c., drawn by two, three, and four yokes of oxen, coming in the early morning, the long procession moving down Congress and Middle, then through Plum to Fore street, thence to the wharves, where they were loaded for the West Indies. This has all gone. The sugar is now brought in bags instead of boxes and the tank steamer is taking the place of the hogshead laden schooner. Portland pier was one of the wharves largely used for the shipping of these articles, and this as well as the village was given a world-wide notoriety in the doggerel known to all sailors and many a landsman. As the times change these bits of by-play fade from the memory. Do you recall it?

Old horse, old horse; What brought you here?
From Saccarap to Portland pier,
I've carted boards this many a year;
Till, killed by blows and sore abuse,
They salt me down for sailors' use.

The sailors they do me despise;
They turn me o'er and —— my eyes,
Cut off my meat and scrape my bones,
And heave me o'er to Davy Jones.

Dana in his Two Years Before the Mast accounts for this bit of forecastle lore, stating that a beef dealer in Boston having salted down a horse for ship stores, was confined in jail until he should eat the whole of it. This is not adequate, as it fails to account for the local coloring. The tracing of a matter like this is hardly history, but this is only the story of the Presumpscot. Isn't this a fair conjecture? The falls next above Saccarappa were owned in the early time by one Mallison and bore his name. Later the name was dropped and for years they were called "Horse Beef falls," from a tradition that when the dam was being built the workmen found a horseshoe in a barrel of beef. Perhaps placed there as a practical joke the story was started. Later, tradition gave the name to the falls. Unimportant compared with the falls at Saccarappa the story may have been carried to that place and thence to the sea.

Saccarappa had been settled upon the west bank of the river, although the east had preference. The next grant of land on the river was on the east side and something more than half way from Saccarappa to Mallison Falls. In 1734 some of the inhabitants of Marblehead felt that the settlement was crowded and "being straightened for accommodations" they prayed for a piece of land where such as felt the pressure of the crowded condition of the town could have room

enough. The prayer was granted, and sixty were found who wished to make new homes for themselves in Maine. To them was granted one lot each. Three additional lots were granted for purposes to be named later. The conditions looked to the defense of the settlers. These lots were all contiguous, ten rods in width and ran back from the river a half mile. Each settler was to build a house eighteen feet square with seven foot posts and to have seven acres cleared about it. The narrowness of the lots, the size of houses and the uniform clearing gave some degree of security from attack by the Indians. Of the three extra lots, one was to be for the first settled minister, another for the support of the ministry, and the third for the support of the schools. The further condition was that they should within five years "build a convenient meetinghouse for the public worship of God" and should "settle a learned orthodox minister." There was no intention of having a Robert Jordan baptizing children in a way not their own.

A few years later (1746) the power at Mallison Falls, together with ten acres of land was given to parties on condition that they would operate a saw mill there. Here was erected the first mill in the town. Early in the history of the settlement, the Presumpscot was bridged above Saccarappa. The town bore the name of New Marblehead until its incorporation in 1762 when the name Windham was given it.

Just after the settlement at Windham, Gorham was settled. This place was first resorted to for lumbering purposes. The first vessels from Casco bay for Eng-

land carried with them masts for the royal navy. It was for masts that the people went first into these places up the river. After the saw mills were built at Saccarappa and the lower falls, logs for boards were in demand and were readily floated down the river. The falls between Gorham and Windham were granted with two hundred acres of land to Joseph Mallison of Boston. He never utilized them, but sold them to Waldo in 1733. Waldo seemed determined to monoplize the powers of the river, for when he had obtained this, he owned the falls at Saccarappa, Ammoncongin, Capisic and most of the lower falls. There was at this time no grist mill nearer than the lower falls. To this the settlers had to go, and were compelled to transport their merchandise in boats or on floats up and down the river, carrying them around the intervening falls and rapids.

Westbrook and Waldo first dammed the Presumpscot for milling purposes. This was a work of great magnitude for the times. Heretofore the chief attraction in the selection of a mill site had been the narrowness of the cut, not the supply of water. These men started an enterprise on a larger scale than anything before attempted. They built the dam and the mills. Tradition says that while the dam was in process of construction, blockhouses were built at each end, commanding the dam to protect the workmen. The Indians made an attack. Thinking it not strongly garrisoned they made an entrance with a battering ram, large enough to admit the body and began to crawl in. The inmates were ready to receive them in this

most advantageous way, and dispatched each as he entered.

A question has been raised as to whether a grist mill had not been erected before the time of Westbrook. Not many years ago a brass bearing was found in the bed of the river which gives color to the conjecture that possibly there was a mill which antedates this. On top of the present dam built about two years ago are some pieces of stone used in these old mills a century ago.

Reference has been made to the abundance of fish found in Fore river by Levett, and to the fact that Ammoncongin had been selected for an Indian planting ground because of the great quantity there. There is no direct testimony as to the numbers in these two particular streams. It is a fair presumption that a statement with regard to one of the rivers of Maine would be equally true of all, and that as many were found in the Presumpscot as in the Androscoggin.

Concerning the latter Father Rasle says, "At a particular season of the year the fish repair to a river not far distant, where during one month they ascend in such great numbers that a person could fill fifty thousand barrels in a day, if he could endure the labor. They crowd one upon another to the depth of a foot. They are drawn out as if they were water."

At an early day the inhabitants had regard for the preservation of the fish. In 1739 it was voted in town meeting "that John Wait go to make answer to the presentment against the dam across the Presumpscot, because of the absence of fish ways. In 1741 the

general court passed an act requiring that all dams which the fish could not conveniently cross should be provided with a passage through or around which the fish might pass. The records of the court of sessions show that this matter required constant attention. July 13, 1785, William Gorham, Samuel Freeman and Edmund Phinney were appointed a committee to open sluice ways on the mill dam on the Presumpscot river.

In the year following Edmund Phinney, John Deane and Jonah Perley were appointed a committee for the same purpose. In October 1793 the proprietors of the dam at Great falls were found guilty of not keeping open a good and sufficient sluice way for the passage of salmon, shad and alewives as required by law and were subjected to a fine of six pounds per day for every day the way was closed.

Not only did the dams require the attention of the people, but as roads became a greater necessity the bridges became matters of serious importance. Westbrook who was interested in the dam and mills at the falls, had also larger interests at Stroudwater, at which place he had his home. He first built the road running between the two places, and is the same as now used between these sections, running through Allen's and Morrill's corners and across Stevens Plains.

A bridge at the falls was a necessity, as the east bank needed closer communication than a ferry afforded. The people were poor, or did not feel like being taxed for this purpose, so in 1757 Massachusetts granted permission to raise twelve hundred pounds by lottery, for a bridge across the Presumpscot and another

across the Saco. The money was raised and the bridge built.

This bridge was private property and in 1789 (July 15), the court of sessions in committee of the whole, voted that £365, 2s, 8d be assessed to pay the proprietors of the bridge, they to keep a good, sufficient and convenient road open to and from said bridge, on either side, so long as the justices of the county shall think it necessary and requisite. In 1793 repairs were needed and in 1796 petitions were presented asking that the bridge be raised. In 1799 the court recommended the building of a new bridge twenty feet further down, which should be thirty feet wider and four feet higher. In the March following, 1800, Isaac Parsons, William Widgery and Paul Little, a committee duly appointed, reported that the proposed location was full of difficulties and that it would be more convenient to have the new bridge as near the old as may be but wholly below it. Fifteen hundred dollars were appropriated and Daniel Illsley was commissioned to spend it. As to why he delayed there is no hint, but the fact that he did, is evidenced by the fact of the appointment, nineteen months after, of "Isaac Parsons to apply to Daniel Ilsley to know what progress he has made in building the bridge." No report from Parsons is found. The appropriation fell short, for the following February (1802) John Waite asked for $495.66 to cover the deficiency. His request was referred to Robert Southgate, Moses Merrill and Ammi R. Mitchell, who finally reported favorably, but added, "the bridge remains in the same unsafe condition as

last spring." Whether it was made safe or not the records do not show, as no money was appropriated for three years and then only the small sum of fifty dollars. The question of repairs was continually coming up and those made were probably inadequate. In 1807 the bridge must have been useless as a committe reported recommending paying for the repairs, but were "clearly of the opinion that they were not obliged to pay for such any longer than they shall judge necessary and may desire." But they continue, "owing to the present circumstances of the county and there being no bridge by which travelers can pass to and from the eastern country without inconvenience they recommend that payment be made."

The bridges helped the people to cross the river. The dams hindered the fish, but the booms were thought an incumbrance to be thrown off. March 1, 1795, Jonathan Webb, Daniel Conant and Jonathan Winslow, built a boom about one hundred rods above the upper falls at Saccarappa. In October, 1797, they were tried for "building and erecting with force and arms, an incumbrance called a boom, which prevented the good citizens of the Commonwealth from passing and repassing at their will and pleasure and abridged their rights of carrying and transporting to every part of the river, boats, lumber, logs, etc." The verdict was "not guilty." The reason for the opposition to this boom is not seen so readily as that to the Walker boom at Prides bridge. Near this place today are several brick yards, and bricks have been made there for many years. Here Joseph Walker, the father of him whose

death occurred but recently, had his yard. Saccarappa was then full of saw mills and edgings and waste wood was continually floating down the river. It occurred to Mr. Walker that he could use more of this drift wood than he had been getting, so he built a little boom of his own to catch it. In this way he could secure enough to burn his bricks without cost. His gain was the loss of those farther down the river, so they would repeatedly cut his boom that they might share in the matter. Mr. Walker then applied to the Massachusetts legislature for permission to build a dam. A counter petition was represented by the citizens of Allen's corner and Mr. Walker's request was refused. The people of the corner then built a boom of their own just above the dam at the lower falls and there secured the wood which Mr. Walker was unable to obtain as it floated by.

The lumbering operations have long since ceased. The saw mills at Saccarapppa have given place to factories, and the mills at the lower falls have been replaced by the electric plant of the Warren Paper Co. The old mill which was situated on this side of the river was burned about 1850. It was a grist mill and fast falling into decay. The mill upon the other side fell gradually into ruin. This was used as a comb factory when last occupied. There was also a shingle and a fulling mill at the falls, but these have gone the way of the others.

The quiet which prevails today gives no hint of the activity once seen along the banks of this river. Between the bridge and its mouth are to be seen the

ruins of six wharves. Here, as at Stroudwater, were many ship yards. For several years after the yards at Stroudwater were abandoned, vessels were built upon the Presumpscot. The last vessel built at the falls was built by Messrs. Batchelder and Skillings for a Mr. Boody, and was launched in the spring of 1852. I have been unable to learn the name. It was then the custom, if the vessel was all taken up to name it before launching, but if built for sale, no name was given by the builder. As Mr. Moody's venture was financially disastrous to him, the subsequent owners gave the name. A vessel built on the Presumpscot was the first to load with grain at Portland for a foreign port.

The later history of the lower Presumpscot is not without interest and shows golden opportunities lost and great possibilities neglected. Before speaking of of these, mention should be made that at the falls there was, in the thirties, a paper mill, in which William Hyde, then a well known bookseller of this city and John L. Meserve were interested. As the rise from the main road was considerable, Mr. Meserve undertook to build a canal from the falls to the lower bridge. He started the enterprise in 1837, the panic came and he was unable to complete his undertaking.

Waldo and Westbrook owned the west side of the river. A man by the name of Merrill owned the east side. Waldo built his dam, apparently without regard to Merrill's rights in the matter. When the dam had been for some time completed, Merrill began to make claims, and through his enforcement of them became

interested in the mills. Waldo then began to sell out. As there was no incorporated company with stock divided into shares he sold interests. The subdivisions were as small as one hundred and twenty-eighths (1-128). Merrill succeeded in interesting others. Matters became involved and a change of owners followed. John Wait induced some parties from Gorham to take hold with him, and they undertook the management of affairs. Failure ensued, and the entire property was sold to Judge Preble for five thousand dollars. A syndicate of capitalists from Boston examined the privilege with an idea of purchase. Everything pleased but the price. Preble refused to sell for anything less than forty thousand dollars. To deal with him they found to be an impossibility, so they went on and bought the power on the Androscoggin at Lewiston. Here was a golden opportunity lost to Portland. But for the desire of too great gain the whole of this power might now be driving the spindles which have built our sister city. Preble held the property until his death. When his estate was sold one quarter was bought by John H. Williams, then a lawyer here; a small part by Edward M. Patten and Samuel Chadwick, and the balance by F. O. J. Smith. The price paid by them was less even than that paid by Preble. Subsequently Smith bought the portion belonging to Chadwick and Patten, but Williams refused to sell, although Smith offered him seven thousand dollars for his quarter.

Smith had great plans and obtained a charter under the name of the Presumpscot Land and Water Power

Co., under which he hoped to be able to carry them out. Williams objected and refused to sell, even though offered for his quarter nearly double the price paid for the entire property. In 1862 Col. John J. Speed of New York, the president of the company, published a pamphlet setting forth its plans and which was called "A Big Thing," these words appearing on the cover and on the title page. After a long search I found a copy of this pamphlet, which was at first supposed to be the only one in existence and which the owner will not let out of his house. Later a second one was found in the hands of the printer, Mr. Stephen Berry, who will present it to this Society. Smith was confident of success and spent $150,000 upon the development of the property. Too much was undertaken before adequate means were provided.

These opportunities have gone, the possibilities remain. Where is the enterprise that shall call forth new opportunities and make use of the possibilities?

We know the world is full of streams
  Renowned in song and story,
Whose music murmurs through our dreams
  Of love and human glory;
We know that Arno's banks are fair,
  And Rhine has castled shadows,
And, poet tuned, the Doon and Ayr
  Go singing down their meadows.

But, while, unpictured and unsung
  By painter or by poet,
Our river waits the tuneful tongue
  And cunning hand to show it;
We only know the fond skies lean
  Above it, warm with blessing,
And the sweet soul of our Undine
  Awakes to our caressing.

HISTORIC HOMES OF KITTERY.

BY MOSES A. SAFFORD.

[Continued.]

Read before the Maine Historical Society, December 7, 1893.

Upon one of the most commanding eminences near the scenes of the early industry of Kittery Point, overlooking his shipyard, stood the house of John Bray, the father of the beautiful Margery, who became the wife of William Pepperrell senior. This was the southerly portion of that tract of land which Bray purchased of Major Nicholas Shapleigh, July 29, 1662, containing twelve acres, and lying between the land of Thomas Langley and Diggory Jeffery. This tract, with an equal amount purchased of Job Allcocke, November 20, 1666, on the west, "whereon at present Thomas Langley's house now stands, which house is to bee taken down in April next," comprised all the land which Bray owned in this vicinity, and was the twenty-four acres referred to in his will as "the land belonging to my house."

The principal part of this tract of twenty-four acres lies on the north side of the road, opposite the house, and extends back to Barter's creek. It was the business part of the place on the water front, embracing all that part best adapted for wharves, landings and shipbuilding. The house was near the central point, and was enlarged from time to time to meet the demands of the proprietor, until at his death it con-

sisted of three principal parts, with a lean-to on the north side, toward the highway.

Bray devised the middle part of his house to his son John, the lean-to and east room, with the chambers over them, to his daughter Mary, and to his wife, Joan, "the new end of my now dwelling house." This new end and one other room, or what may have been called the middle room, is all we now have of the house left by Bray.

As the years advanced the older parts became decayed, and being larger than the needs of subsequent proprietors required, the lean-to and eastern portion were removed, leaving what we see to-day — a house nineteen feet and a half wide by thirty-seven feet in length, two stories in height, having a chimney in the center. Its frame is of oak, ash and pine and is still well preserved. It commands one of the finest views of the harbor entrance and Pepperrell's cove where shipping habitually anchors. The house is devoid of any architectural pretentions, but the interior of the western portion is finished with paneled ceiling and boxed window seats, with shutters on the inside of the windows. Over the mantel of this room is a large panel on which is painted a harbor view which is claimed to be a representation of Plymouth, England, the early home of the proprietor, also that of Louisburg. The work is a rude one and may be simply a fancy sketch, or have been copied from some scene entirely foreign to either England or the New World. Its dimness indicates that it was the work of two centuries ago.

Near the beginning of the seventeenth century the house was occupied as a tavern whose hostess was for a long time one Joan Crafts, who, in July, 1695, was licensed by the court of quarter sessions to keep a "public house of entertainment" and at the January term, 1699, she was presented by the grand jury "for retailing of strong liquors without license."

Being thus established as a public house, its central location brought to it that patronage which maintained its character for more than a century. Persons now living have the information from those who remembered the old house as a place of resort for public dances and gatherings common to the times in this locality. As it existed at the time of the death of Mr. Bray it was well adapted to such uses. It contained a large room in the center which was used for public assemblies. This room, termed in Bray's will the "Middle Room," was given to his son John with the "bed, chest, and Court Cupbord in the East Room."

The new end was given to his wife during her life time, and at her decease it was to become the property of his son John. This is the part of the house now remaining.

The field now inclosed was once a large garden, finely cultivated and methodically arranged, evidences of which lasted up to the time of persons now living, in the orderly arrangement of shrubs and small fruit trees.

In 1752, the premises were conveyed by Mary Dearing, a descendant of Bray, to John Underwood and his wife Mary, a granddaughter of the grantor. Captain

Underwood had a son John and two daughters, Hannah and Elizabeth. Hannah married a Simes and Elizabeth a Halliburton of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Mrs. Simes was the grandmother of Colonel William H. Sise and John Sise, Esquire, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

By Underwood it was conveyed to the father of William F. Mitchell, whose widow is at present the occupant. It is undoubtedly the oldest house in Kittery, and as it was the birthplace of the mother of Sir William Pepperrell, it must ever claim an interest only second to that of the home of her most distinguished son. As a representative of the humble home of a pioneer mechanic in the New World, it stands without a rival in the old town.

ALEXANDER SHAPLEIGH.

The home of this pioneer in Maine was at Kittery Point, where he first established himself and continued to reside until the time of his decease a little before 1650. He probably erected the first house in Kittery, which must have been a log house of small dimensions and which probably did not survive the first half-century. He came here in 1635, furnishing his own transportation and sailing into harbor in his own ship. The precise site of his house here is not known, but doubtless it was near the principal landing of to-day, in the vicinity of Pepperrell's wharf.

It is very probable that it occupied the tract of twelve acres which was sold to Bray in 1662, by Nicholas Shapleigh, and which includes the present

site of the Pepperrell mansion. Alexander Shapleigh had been dead more than twelve years when this conveyance by Nicholas Shapleigh was made to Bray, the Plymouth shipbuilder, for the location of his business.

Shapleigh was a native of Devonshire, England, where he was born about 1585. He was a merchant and shipowner, and agent for Sir Ferdinando Gorges. His place of business and residence was at Kittery, Point, and was never changed, although published reports of his having removed to that part of Kittery now Eliot, have caused a different opinion to be entertained. He may have been interested in the saw-mills first erected at Sturgeon Creek which subsequently came into possession of other members of the Shapleigh family, but it should be remembered that his residence here embraced a period of only about fifteen years (he died before 1650), consequently it is very probable that Alexander senior has been to some extent the representative of other members of that family in referring to the early industries of this town. He had a son Alexander who was born about 1606, who has doubtless been confounded with the father by late writers.

He was a man of great energy and commanding influence in his time, and was the ancestor of the families of that name in New England, many of whom still reside within the limits of the old town. There was about him the pioneer dash and energy which inspired confidence, and drew around him numerous adherents which made it easy for him to command aid in his undertakings in the new home which he

selected for himself and progeny. Consequently he was one of the most influential men of his time. About the home of such a man there centered the enterprises and activities which developed the plantation of Piscataqua.

Nicholas Shapleigh, son of Alexander, was born about 1610, in England, and came here just before his father.

He first resided at Kittery Point, but subsequently (before 1665), established his residence at "Sandy Hill" on the site of the residence of Albert Shapleigh in Eliot. He early became a distinguished man. In 1644 he was a member of Governor Vines council, and later served in the same capacity in the government of Governor Godfrey until 1652, serving each year, with one exception.

In 1652 he was appointed by Massachusetts to receive the submission of the eastern towns to its authority.

He was also made "shire treasurer," and authorized to receive the imports and other moneys due to the towns of Kittery and York.

In April 1682 he was last elected to office, being chosen representative to the Massachusetts General Court; but on the twenty-ninth day of the same month he was killed at the launching of a vessel, at the ship yard of John Dennison, in Kittery, by being struck on the head by a spar, at the time the vessel started. History shows him to have been a leading spirit in all the questions of his time, commanding the respect and confidence of Yorkshire.

An account of him, written by one of his townsmen, says: "He had a strong and powerful mind, a humane and liberal disposition." In his time not more than twenty-five families were on the east bank of the Piscataqua.

CAPTAIN TIMOTHY GERRISH'S HOUSE.

The old house which stood on the east part of what is now called Gerrish Island, fashioned somewhat in the Queen Anne style, was built by Timothy Gerrish early in the eighteenth century. It was a most striking object on the coast, being near the seashore. This part of what was then Champernowne Island was devised to Mr. Gerrish and his wife by Robert Elliot, of Newcastle, New Hampshire, in 1718.

The old house was taken down and a new one rebuilt upon the same site by William H. Goodwin, Esquire, of Boston, Massachusetts, about eight years ago. It was a spacious structure of two stories, of many angles, containing a variety of rooms.

John, son of Timothy, built the house on the west end of the island which was occupied by Joseph Cutts in the early part of the century, and later by Thomas Frisbee. This house a few years since was remodeled and enlarged for a summer residence by Colonel Charles F. McClure, of Cambridge, Massachusetts. It was a nearly square house of generous dimensions, with a large chimney in the center, plain in its exterior and interior finish, and probably built about 1750.

Benjamin, another son, built the house on the north

side of the island, a little west of the bridge, which was for many years the residence of Deacon Darius Frisbee. This house is still standing and is in the possession of his descendants, of which there are many. It is a large two-story house with an old-fashioned lean-to, and although many times repaired is in quite poor condition, but still occupied. It was built in 1743.

The Gerrish family became connected by marriage with many prominent New England families, and those who resided here have borne conspicuous and honorable parts in the conduct of public affairs. Of their number, Joseph and Robert Elliot were graduates of Harvard College. Of the male line I know but one living, Edwin A., of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, a shipmaster still in active service, although nearly seventy years old, his mother having died only a few years since, over ninety years of age. At the time of her decease she was in possession of some of the most interesting historical papers relating to this old town.

THE DENNETT HOUSE.

The house representing this family in Kittery was built by John Dennett second, great-grandfather of Honorable Mark Dennett, who died about nine years ago, at the age of ninty-seven years. It stands on the farm bought by John Dennett, the father of the first occupant of this house, who purchased the farm of Isaac and Christian Remick in 1668. It was built about 1708.

John Dennett came here from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he first settled in coming to this country, between 1660 and 1670. The Dennett farm is on the east side of the Eliot road about a mile above Portsmouth bridge. It is reached by a short driveway lined by some stately elms. In appearance this is the most typical of all our old New England farmhouses. It is spacious, quaint, and in fair shape, although somewhat out of repair. Honorable Mark Dennett was a representative to the general court of Massachusetts before Maine was a state and also as late as 1856 to our own legislature. He was an old teacher in Kittery, and at his death three generations of people were living who might properly be called his pupils.

His son, Honorable Alexander Dennett, who died some five years, since aged seventy-five years, succeeded him in the occupancy of the farm. The family have been conspicuous members of our community discharging important public duties in their time.

It is to be hoped that this old and interesting representative of our town's most sterling citizens may be long preserved. The Remicks of whom the Dennett farm was purchased resided in a house on the bank of the creek west of the road, and opposite the Dennett house. They were natives of Holland, and ancestors of the family of that name in Maine. Their family burying ground is near the river and site of original residence of these people in Maine.

The house of Joshua White, which became the home of Samuel Smallcorn, and subsequently the

home of Robert Follett and William T. Gerrish, is situated on one of the most picturesque places on the river. It is virtually on Kittery Point — the extreme point — where the Piscataqua unites its waters with Spruce Creek. The tract on which it stands was conveyed by John Hicks to White in 1733, but he does not mention whether there was a house on the tract or not.

The house and land came into the possession of Robert Follett in 1797. At that time it was a two-story house with a chimney in one end after the custom of the times. Follett was a shipbuilder and master, and with his brother John carried on the business at the Point. His brother resided in the house now occupied by John D. Lawrence, a little east of this location. These men were in active life in 1806, when they built a ship called "The Two Brothers."

William T. Gerrish married a sister of the Folletts. After he came into possession of the house he added one-half of the present structure to the west end, thus bringing the chimney into the middle. An extension has since been built on the east end, and a porch in front, entirely changing the original character of the house. The Gerrishes were related to the Cutts family and others of note. The result has been that this house is the greatest repository of the most interesting relics of the early families in town. Those who were present on our last field-day excursion had an opportunity of examining many of them.

George Berry, the father of Withers Berry, of whom Hicks says he purchased the tract on which

this house stands, had his residence adjoining on the north of this tract where he carried on his trade. This was a business place containing wharf, warehouses, and all the facilities for mercantile business for the early times, and up to the period of thirty years ago. The Sparhawks, who owned large wharf and storehouse privileges at this point, were succeeded by the Folletts.

The house of William Everett, one of the early settlers of Kittery, the place where the commissioners met and where the inhabitants were summoned to assemble November 15, 1652, to submit themselves to the government of the Massachusetts colony, was in that part of Eliot just south of Shapleigh's creek (now Stacy's), two rods east of the spot now occupied by the house of Mr. Piermont Hammond, near the Piscataqua river. The location is a delightful one, commanding a fine view of both branches of the Piscataqua, Dover Point, and a fine landscape to the east on the left bank. The original house was demolished several years ago. For many years it was used as a tavern. Everett was an influential man, keenly alive to the questions of the times and interested in all that pertained to the welfare of the Province of Maine. As a ferry existed across the Piscataqua at this point, connecting Maine with New Hampshire, it is easily understood why this was a convenient point for the meeting of this commission, and for many other assemblies which convened there in colonial times.

What was called the "Knowles Purchase," a tract of seven hundred and eighty acres of land in what is

now Eliot, between Watt's and Frank's Forts, was conveyed by the heirs of Major Thomas Clark of Boston, Massachusetts, among whom were Governor Hutchinson and wife, embraced the homesteads of five of the principal settlers of Kittery; Joseph Hammond, Matthew Libbey, Stephen Tobey, David Libbey and Daniel Fogg.

The residence of Joseph Hammond, so well known as a county official for many years, was near the river Piscataqua at a point north of the Green Acre Hotel and not far distant. It was surrounded by a stockade and was practically a garrison house, and the most thorough one of the time.

Evidences of both exist at the present time, but the house has been destroyed many years. Its location is well marked and evidences exist which indicate that it was designed as a defense from attacks from the river, as well as from the rear. It was erected in about 1679 upon a tract of fifty acres which he bought of Stephen Robinson.

The Libbey mansion stood near the house now occupied by Moses Libbey, a descendant, and Thomas Addington, who married one of the family. The old house disappeared many years ago.

Stephen Tobey resided farther to the south and near the river at a place called "Mast Cove," where he carried on ship building. The original house long since disappeared.

The Fogg estate was north of Libbey's. The old home of Daniel, a two-story farm house, spacious for the times, stood in the field in front of the present resi-

dence of Honorable Horace Parker whose house occupies the site of a more modern one occupied by the Fogg family. It is also the residence of Doctor J. L. M. Willis, a descendant of Daniel Fogg, the seventh in the line. Daniel was the ancestor of Doctor J. H. S. Fogg whose historical labors as well as his benefactions are well known to this Society. Daniel Fogg, son of Samuel, was born in Hampton, New Hampshire, settled in Scarboro, Maine, which place he left about 1690, and returned to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he remained until about 1700, when he came to Kittery and joined in the purchase of the tract before mentioned. The estate which became his upon the division with the other grantees has continued in possession of the family to the present time.

Humphrey Chadbourne purchased a tract of land of Sagamore Roles of the Newichawanocks, containing "half a mile of ground between Little and Great rivers," May 10, 1643. This was the first recorded purchase of land of the Indians in Maine, and was in that part of Kittery now South Berwick. It embraced the tract upon which the Berwick academy now stands. His son, Judge Benjamin Chadbourne, was one of the founders of that academy. He erected the colonial residence which stands to-day shaded by stately elms on the road to "Old Fields," just south of the railroad crossing. The house now occupied by Mr. Richard Davis is a part of that built by the judge. John Hancock, who was a friend and frequent visitor of the judge, took from his estate many elm trees to be planted on Boston Common.

The house of Humphrey Chadbourne, the great leader and successful business man, stood just west of the house which was the residence of the late Isaac P. Yeaton, Esquire, commanding a fine view towards the south, embracing the Vineyard and Great Works river where it flows in numerous small streams along the wooded intervale decorated with wild grape vines and flowers. The enterprise of the ancestor has always developed itself in his descendants. They have shown themselves to be promoters of education as well as the industries of life. The late President Paul Chadbourne, of Williams college, was a descendant of the pioneer.

The home of Nicholas Frost was at Sturgeon Creek, where he settled in 1636 and died in 1663, aged seventy-four. Here was a garrison house which at the time of its demolition was the oldest house in Eliot. The premises on which it stood is now occupied by Mr. Martin Allen. The old house was taken down about twenty-five years ago. From this ancestor have descended the numerous families of that name. Major Charles was a fighting man, and for this reason he was much dreaded by the Indians who finally waylaid and shot him while he was returning from church at Berwick, July 4, 1697. His grave and place of ambush are still pointed out.

On the farm of the late Joseph Frost, Esquire, now occupied by his son John D. Frost, A.M., are the only remaining garrison houses left standing in Eliot. The house they were designed to protect was built about 1733, by the grandfather of Joseph. One of these

houses was made of hewn timber, and calked so as to be water-tight. It contained the customary loopholes for musketry, and other appliances for observation. This one was built in 1740, the other in about 1733.

"Shorey's Garrison," which was north of Sturgeon creek and not far from a brook of the same name on the right of the road leading to South Berwick, was a noted house of its kind in the early days and the scene of much excitement during the Indian wars. No trace of it now remains.

Gowen Wilson, one of the early settlers, and the ancestor of the Wilsons in this town, resided at Spruce creek, upon the farm lately occupied in part by his descendant, Mr. William Wilson, junior. The house occupied by the early proprietor stood near the southeast corner of the lot, on the main road, and near what in modern days has been known as Briggs' corner. Mr. Wilson was one of the number who signed the agreement of submission to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts in 1652, before the commissioners in Kittery.

He had a grant of twenty-four acres of land from the town in 1658. At the time of his death he owned a tract of forty-five acres, which was bounded southwesterly by Spruce creek, southeasterly by the Norton road, northwesterly by a line parallel to the Norton road and forty-five rods distant from it. It extended northeasterly from the creek about one hundred and sixty rods. Upon this tract Joseph, a son of Gowen, who inherited his father's property, and who was always mentioned in the town records as

"Sergeant Joseph Wilson," maintained a "garrison house" which occupied the site of the house lately occupied by William Wilson, junior. If this was not the house of his father which Joseph converted into a garrison it was probably quite near it, and must have been just east of it, as the latter stood in the corner of the lot. This estate has never been out of the possession of the Wilsons for two hundred and thirty-six years.

Thomas Withers, one of the early settlers and prominent men in the affairs of the town during its early history, serving as one of Governor Godfrey's counselors, had a grant of four hundred acres of land and two islands south and southeast of his land conveyed to him in 1643 by Thomas Gorges for his brother, Sir Ferdinando. This tract of four hundred acres embraced what was the Alexander Rice estate in the early part of the century.

The house of Withers stood in the field where the old farm house of Major Rice stands, at present the residence of Mr. Joseph Langton, on the hill slope some twenty rods southwesterly toward the river. The old cellar is well marked.

Mary, a daughter of Withers, married Thomas Rice, and in later years the larger part of the land came into possession of the Rice family. The old house on the premises once occupied by Major Alexander Rice is also one of the historic landmarks of the town.

George Berry, who resided at Kittery Point, to whom reference is made in connection with the Smallcorn premises, married one of Withers' daughters.

The late Doctor Lapham was a descendant of that family.

The home of John Fernald, third, was on the Eliot middle road, just north of the present residence of William A. Fernald on the east side. The original house which was two stories in front with a long sloping roof to the rear was curtailed a few years since to the dimensions of a modern house of narrow width. It is at present occupied by Mr. Horace Manson. This was the home of that family for two generations before, and the oldest house existing representing that name in Kittery. The house of Samuel, a son of John third, stood opposite the residence of Mr. Warrington Paul, but was removed many years ago.

Noah Emery, the first lawyer in Maine, who was born in 1699, and was called to the bar in 1725, resided near Gould's crossing, on the Portland, Saco & Portsmouth Railroad, in what is now Eliot. That part of his dwelling which was used as his office was added to the original house many years after the former was built. It is now standing, and is used as a barn in connection with a summer residence by the present owners, and is in fair condition. Mr. Emery served as King's attorney several times between 1741 and 1759. He died in 1762, and was buried in Eliot.

John Heard, an early settler and noted man in his time, resided on the premises now occupied by Mr. Sylvester Bartlett, a descendant, near the railway station in Eliot, at the foot of "Frost's Hill."

John Leighton, who was a large land owner, in 1690 built a house near the present residence of Mr. George

W. Leighton, who occupies a part of his ancestor's estate. He was a prominent man in that part of the town, now Eliot, and was sheriff of York county for several years. It was a large house, thirty-two by forty-five feet on the ground and two stories in height. The chimney contained twenty-five thousand bricks. It was in possession of the family when demolished in 1851. At present the house of Mr. Pierpont Hammond occupies its site.

The house of Andrew Leighton is still standing. It is a picturesque old farmhouse of the ancient type. It is situated on the river road not far from the site of the old church of the second parish, called Parson Chandler's church, and near the site of the old Leighton mansion. It is noted for being the place of the first library in Kittery, and is just as well adapted to that purpose now as ever. It is a two-story farm house of good size, shaded by noble elms, with an open dooryard which seems to invite the stranger to enter. It was built by William Leighton, grandson of John and ancestor of Andrew.

The house of Colonel Jonathan Hamilton, the most wealthy founder of Berwick academy, stands at the lower landing, in what is now South Berwick. This house, as well as its surroundings, cannot fail to impress a visitor with the grandeur and great beauty of the locality. It is situated near a graceful bend in the river where a view towards the south reveals a beautiful landscape of high banks clothed with rich foliage, relieved by smooth, narrow sand beaches when the tide is not at its full, gracefully curving in beautiful

contrast to the darker waters of the stream, while on the little promontory, in front of the dwelling, is a fine landing which bears evidence of having once been artificially adapted to the conveniences of the proprietor. Noble elms stand like sentinels of the past around the grounds to attest its former grandeur.

What it must have been when it was the home of this princely merchant owner the fancy can easily picture. The ample house with its extensive halls and complete finish speaks of an elegant home life hushed in the quiet of the lovely retreat.

With the neglect of years, being used only as a farm house (without any attempt to keep up the surroundings), it still echoes back from the days of the princely merchants of the Piscataqua a life of social prominence not uncommon in this region. This house was erected about the middle of the eighteenth century.

Another house which stands at the corner of Portland and Main streets in the village of South Berwick, and which excels other houses of its time in the elaborateness and variety of its interior finish, was built about the middle of the eighteenth century, by John Haggens. In its exterior appearance, as well as from its location, it proclaims itself to be a home of dignity and refinement. Of the history of its first proprietor I have not been able to learn many particulars, but I infer that the gentleman who reared it was one of those merchants of that day who had been successful in ventures in the West India trade and wished to establish an ideal home. To the people of this generation it bears the distinction of having been the

home of the late Doctor Theodore H. Jewett, and of being the present home of Sarah Orne Jewett. It may now be called the Jewett homestead. To the readers of these sketches it would be superfluous to speak more particularly of the celebrated surgeon, or of his no less distinguished daughter, the authoress. This house contains many attractions of art and antiquity which its occupants take pleasure in exhibiting to the appreciative.

The "Cushing house," lately called the Hobbs house, the residence of the late Honorable Hiram H. Hobbs, and at present the residence of his son, Charles C. Hobbs, Esquire, was built by Madam Elizabeth Wallingford, widow of Colonel Thomas Wallingford, for Mrs. Olive Cushing, wife of John Cushing, merchant, of Boston, in 1795. It has been the home of many historic personages, one of whom, George W. Wallingford of Kennebunk, grandson of Thomas, lieutenant of marines, United States navy, was killed in a naval engagement under Paul Jones. It is a square-shaped house of ample dimensions with a balcony on the roof, standing well back from the street, not far from the central part of the village of South Berwick. It presents the appearance of having retired from the active scenes of its early days and looking like a sentinel of the past upon the more lively and cheerful homes of modern society. But it has only to be entered to invite one to its spacious, attractive apartments, where life may be again renewed with all its old-time freshness and glamour.

The object of this paper is to fix the location and

give a brief description of the homes of those persons who contributed something of their energy and character in establishing homes in the colonial days of our state in this old town. I regret that the attempt was not made long ago, while the locations of many homes now lost to view, were still fresh in the memory of our citizens who have passed away. Much of interest might have been rescued from oblivion had this been done even twenty-five years ago. In the brief outlines attempted to be given there cannot be much but dry facts, but they are just such things as will increase in interest as the years go by.

Not all of the men of whom we may speak may have been distinguished, but they were known in their day as active citizens, occupying important positions in town, or contributing by their business energy to its early industries, commercial and agricultural importance, and by their example to the polity of the state. As with man so it is with towns, there is but one period of infancy. If the interesting facts connected with this period are lost they can never be recalled or reënacted. It is a most satisfactory as well as interesting thing for any town or state to know minutely the history of its beginnings, when the torch of civilization first warmed the cabin hearths in the forest and lighted the way for the luxurious mansion — the prosperous town. It may also be very instructive.

THE DESTRUCTION OF FALMOUTH IN 1775 AND THE RESPONSIBILITY THEREFOR.

ILLUSTRATED BY DOCUMENTS FROM THE ADMIRALTY AND PUBLIC RECORD OFFICES, LONDON, ENGLAND.

Read before the Maine Historical Society, January 25, 1894.

BY CHARLES EDWARD BANKS, M.D.

FOR the past eight years I have been gathering material from every source, at home and abroad, which promised to add anything, however small, to our knowledge of the bombardment and destruction of Falmouth by Henry Mowat, October 18, 1775; and the ultimate view I had was to utilize the facts thus obtained in constructing a new, and I hoped complete, narrative of this event, which is of such historical interest for the people of Portland. This search included the events leading up to this now famous act of Mowat, beginning with the Coulson ship embargo, "Thompson's war" (so called), and the twenty years of industrious efforts made by the Falmouth people for reimbursement of their losses.

So much has been said by writers of early and even more recent times upon the matter of responsibility for this military operation, most of it to the effect that it was an exhibition of private pique on the part of Captain Mowat for the part which Falmouth took in his arrest by Colonel Thompson's Brunswick company in May, 1775, that it may be well for us, so far

removed from the roar of the bombardment, and the privations and poverty it made, to seek, if we can, the truth of the matter, as shown by the official records and other contemporary evidence.

In developing my paper it will be necessary to controvert many of the cherished and carefully nurtured traditions of our people, that Captain Mowat was an "infamous miscreant," at one time called "a Nero" and at another "an Erostratus," and again "a fiend, not a man." Such were the epithets bestowed upon him by the generation who had felt the blow from his hostile fleet. The spirit of them has descended to us of the present age, until one can find in almost any current history of the destruction of Falmouth a coarse epithet attached to his name.

In the progress of this paper it will be necessary for me to traverse the same ground which our president covered in his valuable communication to the Society on December 18, 1890, when he presented to us the so-called Mowat manuscripts, relative to his promotion in the service, or lack of it. From this was deduced the argument that Mowat was in disgrace at home with the admiralty on account of his acts in connection with the burning of Falmouth, and that he failed to secure promotion because of it.

If I have reached different conclusions from those presented in that paper, I hope to carry my hearers with me by showing documentary evidence which seems to bear out my contention that Mowat was very much in favor with the powers at court, and received his promotion shortly after the act, which has been so

much condemned, was performed. His failure later to receive succeeding promotions was, as I shall show, due to another cause entirely.

In advance I wish to say that I am perfectly aware, in case I should be reminded of it, that a very readable defense of Judas Iscariot has been written; that some gentleman had the temerity to eulogize Benedict Arnold for certain services rendered, and that there is only one thing more to do — give the devil his due.

Likewise I may relieve supersensitive persons of the suspicion that I am here to eulogize Captain Mowat. It is not my purpose to ask the Society to erect a monument to his memory; nor am I prepared to ask it to adopt resolutions at this day thanking the late Captain Mowat for the thorough and efficient manner in which he destroyed this town, and requesting from his descendants a copy of his portrait for our City Hall. My sole object is to discuss the question of responsibility for the act of bombardment.

I will indulge in the clerical habit of our forefathers by dividing my short paper into firstlys, secondlys and so on. I present the following heads: the responsibility for the act rests 1st, On the people of Falmouth. 2d, On the British Ministry. 3d, On Admiral Graves. I will take them in turn according to their importance.

I. The People of Falmouth.

Why do I say this? Because they were in rebellion against the crown, and as disloyal subjects were en-

gaged in arming forces to resist the lawful authorities of the kingdom. For several years they had been conspiring to overthrow the existing government. To accomplish this they were ready to resort to arms and fight for their "rights," as they termed it. War was what they meant, and it had already begun. Lexington and Bunker Hill had been fought, and the siege of Boston was in progress, with a Continental army, under command of Washington. Falmouth was supplying men to fight the soldiers of the crown, and more than that was supplying the enemies of the crown with stores and provisions to carry on that fight. It is not to the point what the causes of the fight had been, it is sufficient to say that Falmouth was a conspicuously disloyal town, doing all in her power with soldiers at the front and farmers at the rear to destroy the legally constituted authority of Great Britain. Listen to what Admiral Graves says in his letter to the secretary of the admiralty, dated November 8, 1775: —

> The town of Falmouth having long been a principal magazine of all kinds of merchandise, from whence, besides supplying the scattered villages in the provinces of New Hampshire and Massachusetts Bay, large quantities of goods were usually transported in small vessels to Newburyport, and from thence to the rebel army around Boston. [Admiralty Records, 1774-77.]

I have no doubt this is true. Falmouth wanted war and got it. She was disloyal, and was punished for it. What else did she expect, or do you expect, would have occurred under the circumstances? Certainly not complete immunity for her conspiracy against the

crown! Is it the usual thing for rebellious subjects to go "scot free" if the authorities can reach them and administer chastisement? I am not aware that such is the history of nations up to that period.

But I am told that Falmouth was "in a defenseless state" at the time. I quite agree to that, and can only remark that it was her own fault that she was caught unprepared. Portsmouth and Newburyport and Gloucester had provided against just such a performance as was carried on at Falmouth, and by this means escaped Mowat's fleet. Of this I have abundant proof as well as contemporary evidence, that the negligence of Falmouth in this respect, and her entire lack of defense and resistance was the subject of unfavorable criticism among the people of the adjoining provinces. It is not customary for hostile fleets to wait until the town about to be bombarded gets into a thoroughly fortified state. So much for the defenseless condition of Falmouth.

I submit then that primarily Falmouth invited the chastisement of war by her acts of disloyalty, and is responsible for the suffering which it caused her and her people. In like manner did they all suffer who were with her, Charlestown, Bristol, New London, Stonington, all in New England felt the rod severely. I believe they accepted their lot without complaining of the authors as infamous miscreants.

II. The British Ministry.

The British ministry conducted the war. They controlled the polity and dictated its style of application.

The whole tenor of their American campaign, from long before to long after, was one of complete disregard for the feelings and temper of the colonists. I do not need to discuss this, it is known by everybody. They intended to rule or ruin, and they had no milk-and-water methods of dealing with us.

To suppose that they would stand aghast at burning a disloyal town is to shut our eyes to the history of the revolutionary war, where it was done over and over again, or attempted, and to ignore the history of British rule all over the world. I need only recall the burning of our Capitol at Washington in the later war of 1812–15 by General Sir John Ross, as an instance of a still more wanton and entirely needless destruction of public property that in no wise could cripple the strength of the American forces. The burning of Falmouth was intended to destroy a base of supplies, and as a military measure was entirely justifiable.

In the midsummer of 1775 the lords of the admiralty issued orders to Admiral Graves which he states "coincided" with the plan he had independently conceived of inflicting some signal chastisement upon the disloyal towns on the coast. These orders I have not yet procured from London, but it can be stated that they are not those dated September 14, and referred to in the communication of the Mowat manuscripts to the Society. As truly observed by Mr. Baxter, the orders of September 14 do not specifically justify the burning of Falmouth, as they were intended to cover only hostile proceedings against

rebellious towns who should refuse to supply "at a reasonable Price" necessary provisions "for the use of His Majesty's Fleet and Army." It is well known that no such demand was made upon the people of Falmouth. Admiral Graves says in his letter of October 9 that the "orders" of the admiralty which "coincided" with his proposed expedition reached him by H. M. S. Raven; and from the log book of the Canceaux, under date of Boston harbor, October 5, the arrival of this vessel is noted: "Came in here His Majesty's sloop Raven from England 11 weeks." This long voyage carries her departure back to July 21, which must be the approximate date of the orders issued by the admiralty to Graves. To connect the later orders of September 14 with the Falmouth expedition we must have them brought across the ocean between September 14 and October 5, a voyage of three thousand miles in three weeks, which is an improbable feat for the clumsy war vessels of that day. Doubtless these "orders" of the admiralty to which Admiral Graves refers were issued immediately after the news of Lexington and Bunker Hill had reached London, and were of the severe retaliatory character which such news would be likely to excite in the minds of the ministry.

III. Admiral Graves is Responsible.

I will let him tell his own story about his connection with the affair in a letter to the secretary of the admiralty, dated October 9, 1775, after the squadron had left Boston and before he had received any news from it: —

Finding that forbearance to punish the people of the four New England Governments for their many rebellious and piratical acts, only encouraged them to go greater lengths, I determined to observe a different conduct and, if possible destroy some of their towns and shipping: to this end I sent General Gage a letter dated September 1st, a copy of which and of his answer is enclosed. Many difficulties occurred in the procuring and equipping the Symmetry Transport and Spitfire Sloop with proper stores for the expedition, and the weak state of the Garrison, hardly allowing any draught to be made. General Gage could spare but one hundred men commanded by Captain-Lieutenant Forster of Marines with a subaltern officer. The command of the whole consisting of the vessels as per margin, I have given to Lieutenant Mowat of the Canceaux armed ship, solely from his being well acquainted with the Pilotage of the Coast where his operations are to be carried on. I have ordered him to take the advantage of wind and weather and enter any of the Harbours to the Eastward of Boston, and if possible first go to Cape Ann where the Rebels thought proper to fire upon the Falcon and where they took several of her officers and crew and sent them prisoners in the country. Lieutenant Mowat's orders are to burn and lay waste the Towns and destroy the Shipping in Harbours when they cannot with ease be taken away. This flying Squadron lay ready to depart when the Raven arrived. Their Lordships orders by her coinciding exactly with what was then doing gave me great pleasure. [Admiralty Records 1774-77.]

Canceaux arm'd sloop
Halifax armed schoon^r
Symmetry, Transp^t
Spitfire arm'd sloop

I submit respectfully that there could be no more decisive evidence of the immediate responsibility of the commander-in-chief of the British North American squadron, acting in concert with the general commanding the forces, than is contained in this letter, written in advance of any overt act, and before his own acts could be passed in review.

The question of whether Mowat had "orders" to

do what he did is also settled by that letter. So far as can be ascertained now they do not exist in the British state paper office. Mr. W. Noel Sainsbury, the deputy keeper of the Public Record office, has made search for me, and reports failure to find them.[1] The admiral in his letter does not speak of inclosing a copy of the orders, so I presume none was sent. The letter, however, gives the meat of them. On this subject Mr. Sainsbury writes me: —

It seems to me to settle the question whether Mowat "burnt Falmouth without orders" or "executed a Comiss[n] from Graves to destroy certain Towns." Graves writes "Lieut. Mowat's orders are to burn & lay waste the Towns and destroy the shipping in harbours when they cannot with ease be taken away." & he adds "Their Ldps (of the Adm[y]) orders coinciding exactly with what was then doing gave me great pleasure." — Mowat "sailed yesterday the 8[th] inst from Nantasket." In an inclosure the admiral gives a list of the "Disposition of H. M. ships and vessels — among them Arm[d] ship Canceaux, Com[der] Lt. H. Mowat On an Expedition along the Eastern Coast against the Rebels." —Is not all this conclusive that Mowat's orders were general destruction including Falmouth or other Towns along the Eastern coast?

When the squadron returned Mowat made his report to the admiral. Graves, in transmitting it November 8, thus comments: —

The small squadron, under the command of Lieutenant Mowat, mentioned in my letter of October 9, returned to Boston the second instant. I transmit a copy of Lieutenant Mowat's account of his expedition and am extremely concerned; the badness of his vessels and stores prevented his doing more than de-

[1] In a letter dated Boston Nov[r] 27[th] 1775, Dr. Peter Oliver writes to Governor Thomas Hutchinson at London, "Casco Bay is burnt down by order of the Admiral." [Hutchinson, Diary and Letters, I. 571.]

stroy the town of Falmouth. This, however, is a severe shock to the Rebels and our first essay. We shall in a little time be better provided and you can rest assured we shall not allow the rebels to remain quiet.

It has been alleged that the act was disavowed by his superior officers and that Mowat was made a scapegoat and suffered for the part he took in it.

There are in print three or four letters which passed between the secretary of state and Lord Howe about this matter. They are such as would become a part of the documentary history of such a case as this. No one is censured, no one blamed. Nothing is disavowed. If it was I have never happened to see it. The British ministry at that time were not disavowing anything done here.

On the contrary I purpose to show that Mowat not only was not a scapegoat, did not suffer by it either officially or personally — but that he was in receipt of the commendation of his superiors, was received in audience by George the Third, and got a promotion at that time for services acceptably rendered and faithfully performed at Falmouth.

I ask your careful attention to the following extract from the Mowat manuscripts, which has already been before you in 1890, when it was presented by our president. [Maine Historical Society Quarterly, October, 1891, p. 345.]

It has been held that this document gave some color to the theory that Mowat's promotion did not come because of his acts at Falmouth. I will let it tell its own story, reminding the readers of it that it is a

paper prepared evidently by an attorney for Captain Mowat, who is referred to in the third person throughout.

In the following year he was appointed by Admiral Samuel Graves to Command the Expedition against the seaports to the Eastward of Boston. This done he cruised in Boston Bay to January, 1776, when the ship was found unfit to continue any longer on that Service and in consequence thereof was put under orders to proceed to England, carrying Dispatches and Letters from the Commanders-in-chief representing Cap[t] Mowat's services and usefulness on that coast. And at the same time a request from them that he might therefore be returned to America without loss of time in a Ship fit to do Justice to his Experience of the Station.

On his arrival he was received with the most gracious approbation of His Majesty of the Admiralty Board & of the Secretary of State, & had the Step of Master & Commander conferred on him, but it was to a Ship then at Boston.

Captain Mowat finding the ship was in America & considering the time it would take him to join & to prepare her for sea, expressed to Lord Sandwich and to Lord George Germaine a wish of being appointed to one on the spot and his hopes *that the long time he had commanded the Canceaux and the services performed in her entitled him to the promotion of a Post Ship.* Lord Sandwich was pleased to observe he had every desire to give him a frigate, but none were ready for Commission; urging at the same time the desire of Admiral Shuldham and of General Howe for his speedy return, and adding there was no doubt on his arrival he would be appointed to the first vacant Post ship on the station, and the same encouragement was equally given by the Secretary of State (Germaine).

And again, at the close of the manuscript he repeats with some additional details the same references to this Falmouth expedition, "having had the good for-

tune to execute this Services to the utmost approbation of Admiral Graves." The document continues:—

He was then sent to Britain, received with the most gracious Approbation of his Sovereign, of the Admirality, And of the Secretary of State, Appointed Master and Commander, And immediately sent out to America at the desire of the Commanders-in-Chief there, that a Moment's time of his service might not be lost, to take command of a Ship lying at Boston recommended as extremely fit for the Service, Not without more than an insinuation that he might be made Post Captain into her, and an absolute Assurance that at any rate he would be appointed to the first vacant Post Ship in America, as there was none ready to be given him in Britain.

This seems to dispose effectually of the intimation that the bombardment of Falmouth was disavowed by anybody, or that Mowat did not receive the approval of his superiors for his part in it. He explicitly states that he was made master and commander, a grade above lieutenant, his rank at the time of the bombardment, and he then expressed the hope to Lords Sandwich and Germaine that "the services performed in the Canso" (the ship that burned Falmouth) would entitle him to the next higher promotion, that of post captain. "Lord Sandwich was pleased to observe," the document states, "he had every desire to give him a frigate, but none were ready for Commissioning," and "the same encouragement was equally given by the secretary of state."

The injustice of which Captain Mowat complains in his manuscript has no relation whatever to the Falmouth episode. He was, as I have shown, promoted for that. It is based wholly on the neglect of Sir

George Collier to mention his independent services at the siege of Penobscot in 1779 in holding the fortifications before the arrival of the English fleet under Collier's command. Mowat certainly convicts Collier of duplicity in the matter, and the jealousies and bitterness which it engendered operated disastrously to the younger officer. It stopped his promotions for several years, but as soon as the war had ended he returned to England and "had the satisfaction of being received in the best Manner by the Board of Admiralty then directed by Admirals Lord Viscount Keppel and Piggot, professional men & unbiassed Judges of Merit. They did him the honor of declaring at once their Knowledge and Approbation of His Services And Confirmed his Commission into the La Sophie without any solicitation." The complaint he makes is not that he failed of promotion, but that he is required to accept it as dating from the time it was finally given him, and the whole tenor of the argument is a plea for antedating its conferment to the time when a junior was first jumped over his head.

In view of these citations of original authorities showing where the responsibility for the destruction of Falmouth rests, and how Captain Mowat was graciously received in audience by the king shortly after he had executed these orders of his superiors, and was forthwith promoted by the admiralty, I submit that these charges hitherto current as to its being Mowat's personal expedition to gratify his private malice, and for which he afterward suffered disgrace, should be withdrawn from further circulation. I suppose at this

late day that proofs, even so conclusive as these, cannot overcome the prejudiced opinions which have been fomented against this officer by the sufferers themselves, who naturally heaped upon his head the entire gamut of objurgations, forgetting that it was war they had invited and tasted at his hands. It is offered, however, as a plea in abatement to those living a century and a score of years after the event, believing that a just decision can be secured, even though it be asked in respect to a British officer.

LETTER FROM GENERAL PELEG WADSWORTH TO MASSACHUSETTS COUNCIL.

[MASSACHUSETTS ARCHIVES, VOLUME 145, PAGES 135–138.]

Read before the Maine Historical Society, May 31, 1889.

THOMASTON, 19th August, 1779.

Hon. Sir:—Being uncertain whether you have yet been informed of the sad catastrophe of your armament against the enemy at Magabigwaduce, am under the disagreeable necessity of informing your Honor that (by information which I depend upon), the destruction of your fleet was completed on the forenoon of the sixteenth instant, and that the army, five companies excepted, are dispersed to their several homes.

Your Honor is doubtless informed by the return of your express to General Lovell, who left us on the

fourteenth instant, of the evacuation of Magabigwaduce by your troops on the morning of that day on the approach of a fleet up the sound the evening before, and that our fleet was under way up Penobscot river, and that the enemy were in pursuit. The wind being very faint and much against us, prevented our getting far up the river on the tide of flood, till the coming in of the sea breeze in the afternoon which brought in the enemy's fleet along with it, and the tide of ebb taking us the stronger as we advanced up the river, brought their foremost ships up with our rear and cut off the Hamden, Hunter and one brig below Fort Point, and our transports not being able to stem the current to prevent drifting down to the enemy, chiefly shot into the eddy on the west, only side of the river, and ran ashore about two miles below the narrows, whilst our ships of war, by the help of much sail and boats, reached a little farther up the river. Whilst this was doing I had been up a little past our foremost ships, just the narrows, to find a place for landing and hauling up our cannon to check the enemy's progress, having given orders for their readiness before hand; but on returning, to great surprise, found many of our transports on fire, all deserted, and our troops scattered in the bush in the utmost confusion. It was now dusk and the enemy's ships at anchor rather below our cluster of transports, our vessels of war and a few transports still endeavoring to stem the current. No pains was spared to collect the troops, to save the stores and ordnance on board the transports then on fire but neither men nor

officers were under the least control, and it was with the utmost difficulty, with the help of a few individuals, that a small quantity of provisions only were saved from the conflagration in the midst of fire, smoke and shot, by whose order the transports were fired is uncertain. General Lovell 'tis said was gone up the river in the Hazzard, which was then the headmost vessel. Our army by this time was thoroughly disposed in the wood, and our ships of war not able to hold their ground began to blaze, three of them were burnt the forepart of the right the first of which was the Skyrocket. The rest on the turn of the tide towed up the river and passed the narrows. The enemy's shipping in the morning remained in the same place as in the evening before, it being calm and foggy, and were said to be the ? of sixty-four guns, a fifty, a forty, the Blond and several smaller ships.

Early in the morning I endeavored to rally our scattered troops on the high ground near where we ran ashore, that we might receive the general orders; but to no purpose, for in general both men and officers had dismissed themselves, and marched off the parade faster than they could be brought on.

When most of the forenoon had been spent in this fruitless attempt, not being able to get intelligence from the general for four or five miles up the river, and unable to retain a man on the ground, I swung my pack and marched directly for Camden (directing the course of all I overtook to the same place, there to halt), where I arrived on the seventeenth instant. Some of the militia had passed before I came up,

others had sheered off to prevent being stopped, and the rest, altho' much fatigued, had not lost their eagerness for returning home, and in spite of every order and precaution, after drawing provisions, skulked off, except five companies, who were retained by the influence of good officers. These have this afternoon been ordered to take their separate posts at Belfast, Camden, W. S. W., Gigg, St. Georges and Townsend, in order to protect the inhabitants from the incursions of the tories and small parties of the enemy, and to encourage them to save their crops and not to fly from their habitations, which would have been the case of very many families had nothing been done for their encouragement.

This distribution I have ventured to make without the order of the general, not having seen him since the morning of the evacuation, but think it most probable that he passed from the head of the river into Kennebec, and is gone down the river, in which case I hope your Honor has had earlier and a more intelligible account of facts than is here contained from the general himself. I would however beg leave to suggest to your honor the great importance of keeping a small force of three or four hundred men, under the direction of the brig of the county, stationed along the sea coast to prevent the sudden incursions of the enemy, to check the spirit of toryism within and to strengthen and encourage the wavering and to prevent many families on the sea coast from flying from their estates and leaving them to be plundered by the enemy. Convinced of the necessity of such a meas-

ure, I have wrote to Brigadier Cushing desiring him to send from the inland part of the county five companies of the militia who lately dismissed themselves from Penobscot, or some others, to relieve the companies now on the ground (as four of them belong to the county of Cumberland), and all live on or near the shore and cannot be better disposed of for the public good than by being dismissed and returning to ? to continue till orders from the general or the Hon. Council can be obtained and should it be thought proper to continue such a force on the sea coast till the enemy could be driven from this quarter, should think it best that they should be under the direction of the brigadier of the county who will be likely to make a better disposition of them than any other officers. The companies now on the ground have about twenty-five rounds per man; they are fed with fresh beef, rye meal and potatoes, which I suppose can be procured here for the present. Your Honor need not be informed that a supply of both ammunition and provisions is necessary immediately if it should appear expedient to keep the troops on the sea coast; and indeed, some ammunition will be necessary for the inhabitants in case no troops should be kept up.

I have not heard of the supplies which the general was expecting before the evacuation and fear lest they have fallen into the hands of the enemy. An express from your honor I am informed turned back the day before I arrived at Camden on hearing of our disaster; I was not acquainted with his business. I have this

moment an account by Lieut. Little of the Hazard, that Gen. Lovell, after every possible exertion to save the fleet, and after seeing the last of them on fire, much against his opinion had crossed over from the head of Penobscot to Kennebec river; in which case I think it most likely that Captain Lovell who goes express with this will meet him either at the crossing the river or on the way. I shall therefore inclose this to the general who will send it forward to your Honor or not as he thinks best. Capt. Lovett is a gentleman of a very good character, and his information respecting the situation of the coast here may be depended upon. He advances money for the expense of the journey, which I have given him encouragement will be repaid him on his arrival at Boston and which I ask as a favor. I shall remain in this quarter till I receive orders from the general or from your Honor, when I hope to take leave to return.

In the meantime I have the honor to be

Hon. Sir,

Your very humble servant,

Peleg Wadsworth, B. Gen'l

SKETCHES OF THE LIVES OF EARLY MAINE MINISTERS.

BY WILLIAM D. WILLIAMSON.

Presented to the Maine Historical Society, with an Introduction by Joseph Williamson, December 10, 1891.

[CONTINUED.]

REVEREND DANIEL LITTLE.

Reverend Daniel Little was the first settled minister of the present Kennebunk. Prior to the year 1750, the whole town of Wells, containing one thousand souls at that period, was united in one religious society, under the pastoral charge of Reverend Mr. Jefferds; though the brethren of the church resident at Kennebunk landing or settlement had, for seven years previously, holden separate meetings during the winter in that part of the town. This was the origin of the parish over which Mr. Little, March 27, 1751, was ordained. Mr. Little was a man of considerable talents, of various reading, tall and commanding in person, consequential in his manners, and in conversation, ready, apt and familiar. His thoughts sprung and flowed with great quickness; and hence it was his own observation of himself that his first thoughts were best, not ordinarily ripened or improved, but rather perplexed by pondering and deliberation.

Reverend Mr. Little (who had the Christian name of his father) was born at Newburyport, Massachusetts, in 1724. Though his education was a good one, he being instructed in the Hebrew, as well as in Greek

and Latin and the sciences, it was only academical, acquired principally under the tuition of Preceptor Sewall, of that town.[1] In subsequent years, he acquired so much learning and distinction as to be honored by Cambridge University with the degree of master of arts in 1766; and when the American Academy of Arts and Sciences was established in 1780, he was an original member, and an ingenious communication of his appeared in the first volume of its transactions.

He was twice married. His first wife was the daughter of Reverend Joseph Emerson of Malden. She died in childbed, June 2, 1758, aged thirty-two, after bearing him three children, one of whom married Reverend Silas Moody of Arundel. His second wife was Colonel Joseph Coffin's daughter, Newbury, Massachusetts, who was the mother of seven children, of whom two were sons. Nathaniel lived and died in Bangor; the oldest daughter was married to Reverend Asa Piper of Wakefield, N. H., and another to Doctor Joseph Gilman. She, and most of the others deceased before the father, and their mother survived him about two years, dying December 19, 1804, in her seventy-eighth year, leaving memorials of a very excellent character.

Mr. Little was emulous of distinction, a man who preferred activity to study, and thought more of being a patriarch than a scholar. His thoughts were early and often turned upon the region of the Penobscot

[1] It is said "Mr. Little studied divinity with Reverend Joseph Moody of York" (perhaps Malden); too disordered was Mr. Moody of York at that period to have a student.

waters. He gathered a church at Blue Hill in October, 1772; he visited the settlement at Kenduskeag-stream (now Bangor) as early as the summer of 1779, as he baptized there, in that year, one of Mr. Howard's children. About this period his mind was especially attracted toward the Indian tribes on the Penobscot and St. John rivers, as they were patient friends of the American revolution, and he took upon himself, under the auspices of government, the important labor of becoming their missionary instructor. To teach them in their own vernacular, he compiled a vocabulary of their dialect, "which," Governor Sullivan[1] says, "is a very perfect one." He also carried with him one of Mr. Eliot's Indian Bibles, and read it in the presence of the most intelligent Indians of these tribes; "but there was not one word of their language in it, nor could they, by any means, understand it, or any part of it." In this summer mission of 1786, when he was at Bangor, he personally installed the Reverend Seth Noble, as a gospel minister without embodying any church, there being none other than those two clergymen present. Mr. Noble preached the sermon, and Mr. Little gave the charge, and the right hand of fellowship. The ceremonies were performed under a spreading oak.[2] He made many visits, and ministered much good to the settlers and also to the natives in these eastern parts. In returning from one of his eastern missions some few years before the close of his life, and traveling without a screen before his face

[1] History of Maine, page 265. Mr. Little kept a "journal of his travels and labors."

[2] This oak stood within the corner of Oak and Water streets, perhaps half way or more from the Point to the westerly end of the present bridge over the Penobscot river.

towards the sun, blazing upon his eyes, he became sun struck, being the *ictus solis* and this was followed by an inflammation in his eyes, which so impaired his health that ultimately, in September, 1800, the Reverend Nathaniel H. Fletcher was settled as his colleague. He died October 5, 1801, in the seventy-eighth year of his life. His tombstone is arched, with these words: "Blessed are they who have turned many to righteousness."

This Stone is affectionately dedicated by the Second Parish in Wells, to the precious memory of their first Pastor, the Reverend Daniel Little, N. M—A. N. S., who was ordained March 27, 1751, labored with them in peace and love 50 years, and died Oct. 5, 1801, in the 78th year of his age.

Memento mori! preached his ardent youth.
Memento mori! spoke maturer years.
Memento mori! sighed his latest breath.
Memento mori! now this stone declares.

In the seventh volume of the Piscataqua Evangelical Magazine for 1806, the properties and shades of Mr. Little's character are given with much particularity. According to that sketch, he was better qualified to water and dress the vine, than to meet the enemy in the gate. He had a fruitful imagination, a lively fancy and fluency of expression, and, therefore, could adapt his prayers and addresses to sudden and uncommon occasions with great facility. Still, he did not excel in pulpit oratory; his compositions were too full of parentheses and incidents, and too little refined, and his voice was harsh and his utterance "too indistinct, precipitant and uneven, especially when he spoke with emphasis." In sentiment, he "was a modest, moderate and candid Calvinist, disposed to

think no evil, and hope the best of others." Indeed, many thought him "too ductile and condescendery," too apt to give an opinion, and to act without strict inquiry, and too prone to value the favor of men. Though he was truly pious, he would have been more highly esteemed by godly Christians, had his faith partaken more largely of a spiritual, puritanical character.

REVEREND SOLOMON LOMBARD.

Reverend Solomon Lombard, Harvard College, 1723, was ordained December 26, 1750, the first minister of Gorham, fourteen years before the town was incorporated. The council consisted of Reverend Moses Smith, Lorery, Allen Thompson, and Morrill. He was a native of Truro, in Barnstable county, Massachusetts; probably a descendant of Bernard Lombard, sometimes spelt Lambert. He was not a man of such vivacity, zeal and pastoral talents as could win and secure the affections of a young, rising plantation. From year to year he became more and more unpopular as a minister; consequently a council of six churches was convened in January, 1758, when three-fourths of his church appeared against him, and wished his dismissal. Mr. Lombard preferred charges against the disaffected party, and the recrimination resulted in a mutual compromise[1] that they, by the consent of him and the church have for their pastor Mr. Townshend, a faithful and pious preacher of lay ordination; and that Mr. Lombard should, as he was

[1] See a good anecdote of a lawsuit against Mr. Lombard in Samuel L. Knapp's Biographical Sketches, page 201.

willing, preach to those who adhered to him, and receive what they chose to pay him. In a few years Mr. Townshend died, and in due time afterward there was a proposition that the two divisions of the church reunite, provided Mr. Lombard be dismissed. On the fifteenth of August, 1764, a council accomplished both objects; and hence the harmony of the town was happily revived.

Mr. Lombard continued still to reside in Gorham, but was never re-settled in the ministry. He now turned his attention exclusively to secular affairs, for which his taste and talents better fitted him than for the lively and devout exercises of a gospel minister. The next year, 1765, he was elected the first representative of the town to the General Court, and afterward received, at different times, five other elections. From 1776 to 1781, inclusive, a period of six years, he was a judge on the bench of the common pleas, in the county of Cumberland, from which he was taken by death, at the age of about seventy-eight years.

REVEREND ISAAC LYMAN.

Reverend Isaac Lyman was the third settled minister in the ancient village of York. His predecessors were the Reverend Moses Dummer and Moody. He was born at Northampton, Massachusetts, February 25, 1724, graduated at Yale college, 1747, ordained at York, December 20, 1749, and died March 12, 1810, at the advanced age of eighty-five years. Of his ancestry, three brothers, Richard, John and Robert Lyman are among the first settlers of Northampton,

and some of the first people of the present age are their descendants, resident in that town. Reverend Isaac Lyman, the subject of this notice, was the older brother of doctor Job Lyman, Yale college, 1756, who settled, practiced physic, and died, 1790, in York; and their sister was the mother of Governor Caleb Strong.

He had several children; one was Theodore Lyman, a rich merchant in Boston, whose son, General Lyman, has been mayor of that city. A daughter of his[1] was the second wife of Reverend Doctor Joseph Buck minster, Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Reverend Mr. Lyman was a remarkably sedate man, even in his temper, and uniform in his feelings. Unlike his predecessor, he always had command of himself. In 1798, he received Reverend Mr. Messenger as colleague. Doctor Hemenway, who knew Mr. Lyman well, says in the funeral sermon he delivered on the day of interment: — "The Giver of every good gift furnished him with such spiritual endowments as qualified him well for that distinguished station and office in the church to which he was called. His talents, rather solid than shining, specially fitted him for usefulness in his particular vocation, rather than for figure in the eyes of the world." He possessed a good understanding, a sound, sagacious judgment, and a thorough knowledge of the doctrines and duties of the Christian religion. Distinguished for practical, genuine piety, for faithfulness to his flock, for plainness in his discourses, and, in general, for a character always exemplary in the various walks of life, he was justly esteemed a divine

[1] Reverend Isaac Lyman's other daughters were Mrs. Bragdon, Mrs. Gilman, and the two wives of Doctor Keating, Boston.

among the most excellent of the earth, an Israelite, indeed, in whom there was no guile. Though with him words did not burn, nor feelings glow, he was a wakeful watchman in Zion, and he and his church often had seasons of special prayers for religious revivals. His compositions were plain and perspicuous, not elegant; and his delivery interesting, not eloquent. Had he been more distinguishing and pungent his preaching would have probably met with more success. Of his family it was considered a paragon of "ardor, devotion and love."

REVEREND SAMUEL FAYRWEATHER.

Reverend Samuel Fayrweather, Harvard College, 1743, was invited to settle in the old parish of Wells within fifteen months after the death of Reverend Mr. Jefferds, and he returned an answer in the affirmative. But so great was the opposition to him, that the council, convened May 23, 1753, thought best not to ordain him. Though his character was fair and unblemished, and his faith orthodox, there were discerning men who could not divest themselves of fears that he, as one born only of the flesh, might love gains more than souls, profit and his own possessions, to the garden of the Lord. He was afterward an ordained, Episcopal minister at South Kingston, Rhode Island, where he deceased, August 24, 1781, aged about sixty years.

HALLOWELL RECORDS.

COMMUNICATED BY DR. W. B. LAPHAM.

[Continued from page 333.]

Simeon Norris, son of James and Mary, married Hannah, daughter of Benjamin and Mary Whittier, of Farmington. Children: —

Benjamin Whittier, b. Oct. 1, 1800; d. Aug. 12, 1816.
Sarah, b. April 25, 1803.
Thomas Jefferson, b. March 12, 1805; d. March 10, 1806.
Charles Henry, b. May 21, 1809.
Maria N., b. Oct. 13, 1811.
Hannah Elizabeth, b. Oct. 13, 1813.

Aaron Page, son of ———, was born in Kensington, state of New Hampshire. Married Mary Gilman of Exeter, in said state, came with his family to Hallowell, June 1791. Their children, all born in Kensington, are: —

Mary.
Increase Wilson, Aug. 28, 1772.
Susanna.
Nat.
David, b. Aug. 12, 1782.
Moses, b. 1784.
Nancy, b. ———; d. June 1817.
Samuel.

Mr. Aaron Page removed with his family to Belgrade.

Increase Wilson Page, son of Aaron Page, above named, married Elizabeth, daughter of Moses Stone, of Watertown, Massachusetts September 30, 1806, who was born December 6, 1778. Their children are: —

William Augustus, b. Aug. 9, 1807.
Charles Albert, b. July 7, 1812.
George Aaron, b. Aug. 10, 1814.

David Page, son of Aaron Page, above named married Mary, daughter of Benjamin and Zilpha Guild, of Hallowell, October 16, 1814. Their children are: —

Mary, b. Oct. 6, 1815.
Benjamin Guild, b. Jan. 17, 1818.
Horatio, b. Sept. 28, 1820.
Caroline A., b. Nov. 7, 1823.
Edward, b. April 29, 1826.
Sarah Elizabeth, b. Sept. 22, 1829.
David Franklin, b. Aug. 6, 1832.
Augustus, b. Mar. 9, 1835.

Abner Lowell, son of Joshua and Sarah Lowell, was born in Falmouth (since called Portland), October 18, 1779, came to Hallowell, May 1790. Married Hannah, daughter of Jonathan and Mary Sawyer of Falmouth, December 29, 1797. Their children are: —

John, b. July 5, 1798.
Joshua, b. April 5, 1800.
William, b. Jan. 30, 1802.
Mary, b. Dec. 15, 1803.
Alexander, b. Jan. 5, 1806.
Henry, b. Jan. 30, 1808.
Frederic, b. March, 9, 1810.
Horatio, b. Jan. 5, 1812.
Greenleaf, b. Jan. 1814; d. Aug. 1815.

Nathaniel Brown, son of Nathaniel and Hephzibah Brown, was born in Ipswich, county of Essex, Massachusetts Nov, 17, 1772. Married Mary Loring Parsons, daughter of Jonathan and Hannah Parsons of Newburyport, who was born April 26, 1772, and married April 5, 1798. Came to Hallowell April 1798. Their children are: —

Catharine Murray, b. Jan. 4, 1799; d. March 20, 1799.
Lucia Parsons, b. July 21, 1801.

William Cross, son of Joseph and Alice Cross, was born in Boston, April 9, 1785. Came to Hallowell, October 2, 1806. Married Olive, daughter of Jedediah and Isabella Preble of Whitefield, November 27, 1813. Their children are: —

Isabella Alice, b. Oct. 21, 1814.

Olivia Adeline, b. Mar. 27, 1817; d. Sept. 11, 1842.
Mary Louisa, b. Aug. 14, 1823; d. Sept. 4, 1831.
Ellen Octavia, b. Jan. 27, 1828.
Rosman Lœser, b. May 6, 1833.

William Cross died in Hallowell, Sunday, July 26, 1840.

Parson Smith, son of Nathaniel, and born in Epping, state of New Hampshire, September 25, 1779. Came to this town to reside in 1799. Married Sarah, daughter of Benjamin and Ruth Brainard, July, 1808. Their children are : —

Jacob Charles Rudock, b. Aug. 17, 1809.
Mary Ann, b. Jan. 2, 1811.
William Wyman, b. May 16, 1813; died Mar. 12, 1814.
Sarah Eliza, b. Sept. 4, 1814.
Thomas Ripley, b. May 29, 1818.

Stevens Smith, brother of the above named Parsons Smith, was born September 20, 1781. Came to reside in this town April, 1803. Married Nancy, daughter of George and Zipporah Robinson, of Attleborough, Massachusetts October 1806. Their children are : —

Justin Ely, b. June 18, 1807.
Samuel Stevens, b. Feb. 24, 1809.
George Robinson, b. Feb. 26, 1811.
Nancy Robinson, b. Aug. 6, 1815; died June 17, 1838.
Nathaniel Green, b. Aug. 25, 1807.
Sylvina Lord, b. May 23, 1820; d. Nov. 22, 1822.
Sylvina Lord, b. May 16, 1826.

Nancy R., married Richard D. Rice, April, 1836, and died at Augusta.

Mrs. Nancy, wife of Stevens Smith, died at Bangor, October 26, 1841.

Benjamin Wales, son of Nathaniel and Mary Wales, was born in Braintree, county of Norfolk, Massachusetts, March 5, 1782. Came to reside in this town November 7, 1805. Married Sarah, daughter of Daniel and Sarah Carr, of Hallowell, July 27, 1808. Their children are : —

John Waldo, b. Apr. 5, 1809, d. May 2, 1809.
John Waldo, b. Apr. 27, 1810.
Benjamin Carr, b. Aug. 27, 1812; died May 31, 1815.

Charlotte Carr, b. Aug. 19, 1815.
Sarah, b. Nov. 19, 1818.

Ebenezer Dole, son of Nathaniel and Mary Dole, was born in Newbury (since called Newburyport), March 12, 1776. Came to reside in this town November 1, 1813. Married Hannah, daughter of John and Eunice Balch, of Newbury, November 1814.

Ebenezer, b. Oct. 23, 1815.
Hannah B., b. May 10, 1817.
Nathaniel, b. May 17, 1819.
Ann Balch, b. Apr. 9, 1822.
Mary Balch, b. Oct. 16, 1824.

Deacon Ebenezer Dole, died June 14, 1847.

Simeon Chase Whittier, son of Richard and Elizabeth Whittier, was born in Methuen, county of Essex, Massachusetts. Came to this town to reside October 1807. Married Martha Williams Fuller, daughter of Reverend Timothy Fuller, of Merrimac, New Hampshire. Their children are: —

Sarah Williams Fuller, b. May 27, 1810.
Tryphosa Elizabeth Fuller, b. Apr. 11, 1812.
Abraham Williams Fuller, b. Feb. 4, 1814, d. Jan. 29, 1814.
Martha Ann, b. Oct. 15, 1815.
Ellen Kilshaw, b. Sept. 11, 1817.
Abraham Wm. Fuller, b. May 3, 1819.
Abraham Wm. Fuller, b. Feb. 15, 1821.
Elisha Fuller, b. April 21, 1823.
Brinda Routh, b. Feb. 1, 1825.

John Folsom, son of James and Mary Folsom, was born in Exeter, state of New Hampshire, December 18, 1790. Came to reside in this town December, 1810. Married Margaret, daughter of Jonas Childs. Their children are: —

Charles, b. May 12, 1816.
Rufus.
Sally Ann, b. Dec. 22, 1820; d. Dec. 13, 1825.
George DeForest, b. May 11, 1823; died Dec. 3, 1825.
George, b. May 6, 1826.
Albert, b. Mar. 26, 1829.
Clarissa Ann, b. June 5, 1833.

PROCEEDINGS.

April 11, 1892.

The Seventieth Anniversary of the organization of the Maine Historical Society was celebrated by a banquet at the Preble House, in Portland. The guests assembled in the parlors of the hotel at 7 P.M., and at 8 P.M. took possession of the dining room. The following gentlemen were seated at table: —

Hon. James P. Baxter.
Rev. H. S. Burrage, D.D.
Gen. John Marshall Brown.
Hon. E. P. Burnham.
Hon. George A. Emery.
George E. Brown.
George S. Rowell.
Fred O. Conant.
Asher C. Hinds.
A. F. Moulton.
Edwin S. Drake.
Stephen Berry.
Hon. J. H. Drummond.
F. H. Fassett.
Samuel L. Boardman.
Charles W. Roberts.
Rupert H. Baxter.
Charles E. Allen.
W. H. Gay.
Edward W. Hall.
Rev. E. C. Cummings.
Franklin C. Payson.
Samuel T. Pickard.
John S. Locke.
Moses A. Safford.
Ira S. Locke.
F. L. Littlefield.
George D. Rand.
Dr. James A. Spalding.
Hon. Percival Bonney.
Prentice C. Manning.
Albro E. Chase.
Eben Corey.
George F. Emery.
Dr. W. Scott Hill.
Clarence Hale.
J. D. Stanford.
Woodbury S. Dana.
Rev. W. T. Phelan.
Fritz H. Jordan.
Everett Smith.
Joseph E. Moore.
Leonard B. Chapman.
Edwin S. Bryant.
Hubbard W. Bryant.

Mr. J. P. Baxter presided at the table, and grace was said by Rev. E. C. Cummings.

When justice had been done to the tempting

viands Mr. Baxter called attention to the long-distance telephone instrument which had been placed in the dining room by the kindness of Mr. Stanford, the superintendent of the Telephone Company. Mr. Stanford then stepped forward and advised the company present that communication was established with Boston, and that Doctor Samuel A. Green, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, would speak through the instrument. The receiving tubes were then taken up by several of the guests, and the following communication quite distinctly heard: —

Mr. Baxter and Gentlemen: — I congratulate the Maine Historical Society on the celebration of their Seventieth Anniversary this evening, and in the name of the Massachusetts Historical Society I extend to you, Mr. President, and your associates, our affectionate greeting. With your fifteen volumes of valuable collections you have made a noble record, of which any society may well be proud. What would the founders have said seventy years ago if they could have foreseen among the events of to-day, the use of the telephone, that triumph of human ingenuity, by means of which audible speech is at this moment being transmitted from Boston to Portland. Again I congratulate you on this interesting occasion, and I hope that many of your members now seated at the tables will be present thirty years hence at the centennial celebration of the Society. This is the first time I have used the long-distance telephone since its invention.

Many of the gentlemen present stated that this was the first time they had received a long-distance message by telephone.

During the evening communications were received from Mr. Amos Perry, the secretary of the Rhode Island Historical Society at Providence, conveying the congratulations of that Society on the work ac-

complished by the Maine Society, also from the president of the New York Historical Society, New York city, with a message of cheer and good will from the Society he represents.

Mr. Baxter, in opening the post-prandial exercises, remarked that seventy years ago the Maine Historical Society held its first meeting in this city, and that its founders no doubt realized the importance of the work which they began. The Society's presidents were such men as Albion K. Parris, William Allen, Ichabod Nichols, Stephen Longfellow, Prentiss Mellen, William Willis, Edward E. Bourne and James W. Bradbury.

To the high character of its officers, its stability and usefulness during its long years of existence were to be attributed.

The officers of the Society in the past made the Society what it is, and we trust that the Society will have as good in the future.

Mr. Baxter then called upon Mr. Bryant, the secretary, for a report of the friends unable to be present with us. Mr. Bryant then read a telegram which had just been received from Honorable James W. Bradbury, in Asheville, North Carolina: —

My health is much improved. I am with you in spirit to-night. All honor to the noble men who founded the Society.

Mr. Bryant remarked: —

We regret that so many of our older members are not with us to-night. Judge Joseph Williamson of Belfast and Doctor Wm. B. Lapham of Augusta expected to be here up to the hour of meeting, but have been prevented from coming. Messrs. Samuel Adams Drake of Kennebunk and Edward Russell of Boston

hoped to be present, and we have received regrets also from Judge J. A. Peters, A. C. Stilphen, P. M. Reed, Professor Justin Winsor, Honorable Henry Ingalls, Professor G. T. Little, John F. Hill, Reverend Doctor Asa Dalton, M. C. Fernald, George F. Talbot, Reverend Doctor Hyde, Josiah Crosby, E. M. Barton, D. E. Owen, Reverend M. C. O'Brien, Henry F. Waters, S. F. Humphrey, Doctor George A. Wheeler, J. L. Douglas, Professor S. Mathews, George H. Witherle, H. C. Goodenow, Charles Hamlin, Charles H. Boyd, Hugh McCulloch, Reverend Henry O. Thayer, Reverend A. F. Chase, Judge Thomas H. Haskell, A. I. Phelps, B. N. Goodale, Reverend Bishop Neely, H. K. Morrell.

The following responses have been received from friends unable to accept our invitation to attend the dinner.

Mr. John Ward Dean of Boston writes: —

As a native of Maine, and a corresponding member of the Society, I feel a pride in the results of the historical research of the Society, and its members living and dead, and it would give me great pleasure to meet with you, but I am now recovering from a recent brief sickness, and shall therefore have to deny myself the pleasure.

Honorable Robert C. Winthrop of Boston writes: —

Age and ill health compel me to deny myself, but I thank the Maine Historical Society for their kind invitation, and offer them my best wishes for another seventy years as prosperous and productive as the last.

The Reverend Doctor George E. Ellis, president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, regrets that previous engagements prevent his attendance.

Reverend Doctor John S. Sewall of Bangor writes: —

I should be exceeding glad to attend, for I am deeply interested in the objects of the Society, and watch with pleasure its

progress and doings, but my duties keep me at home, and I must forego the pleasure.

M. E. Ingalls, Esquire, of Cincinnati, writes: —

I wish it was in my power to be with you on the eleventh. I have got a very soft spot for my native state, and would go many a mile to meet its sons, but at this season it is impossible; whenever I can be of service to the Society let me know.

Honorable Albert W. Paine of Bangor: —

I regret my inability to be present at the feast, for I know I should enjoy the occasion. Pressing engagements prevent my attendance.

Honorable John Lynch of Washington regrets exceedingly he cannot be present, but incloses the price of a ticket.

Governor Burleigh expresses his thanks for the invitation, and regrets that the pressure of public business prevents his attendance.

Doctor Charles E. Banks writes from Vineyard Haven, Massachusetts: —

I regret that I shall not be able to sit down with you at the anniversary dinner. The Society has reached its threescore and ten and yet seems to be more vigorous than ever, while the outlook for increased usefulness in its special sphere seems to be brighter with increasing age. I send an autograph letter of the Reverend Doctor Ichabod Nichols for the Society's Archives. It reads as follows: —

Portland, August 7, 1822.

General Edward Russell, North Yarmouth,

Dear Sir: — Doctor Payson and myself have looked over the laws and regulations of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and agreed upon the inclosed, mostly taken from these for the Historical Society of Maine. Will you examine them and after making such additions and alterations as you shall think proper have the goodness to copy them in your fair hand and take them with you to Brunswick, it being probable that I shall not attend

Commencement? We thought it best to leave two blank spaces, one in the 1st and one in the 4th articles on the first page.

Yours truly

I. Nichols.

Mr. A. G. Tenney of Brunswick writes: —

Having been more or less of an invalid for nearly a year, I fear I shall not be able to be with you, but I am right glad the anniversary is to be observed, and only wish our Society had more means to prosecute further inquiries, for as you well know, I am the firmest of believers in Maine history, and in the past I have done what I could to investigate it, certainly to preserve the facts in the columns of my paper.

The Reverend Doctor John O. Fiske of Bath, writes: —

It would afford me great pleasure to attend the dinner were my health at all adequate to such services and enjoyments. I have no doubt you will have a pleasant gathering, and earnestly do I wish that Mr. Bradbury were so far recovered as to be able to honor the occasion with his presence.

Doctor Henry C. Levensaler of Thomaston: —

I regret my inability to attend the dinner, and nothing but continued ill health prevents my attendance at this important and well-chosen meeting in recognition of the organization of the Society.

Mr. Henry W. Wheeler of Brunswick: —

I regard the invitation as an honor, and wish I could make an humble member of your distinguished party.

Doctor Samuel A. Green of the Massachusetts Historical Society, writes: —

Many circumstances conspire to prevent my acceptance of your kind invitation. The ties between your Society and the Massachusetts have always been peculiarly tender and strong, and this fact causes me the more to regret my inability to attend. Fur-

thermore I do not forget the circumstance that the first member of the Massachusetts Society chosen by the founders after its organization was the Honorable David Sewall of York, one of your Society's incorporators.

Rufus K. Sewall, Esquire, of Wiscasset : —

A pressure of other duties will compel me to forego the pleasure of the dinner. In the services of our Society for a whole generation I have taken an active delight. At its gatherings I miss its zealous co-workers, McKeen, Poor, Bourne, Woods, and the venerable Doctor Packard, also Richardson and Goold. I rejoice in the work that has been done by our Society in the rebuilding of Maine History, and I anticipate at no distant future a glorious structure at the hands of our surviving members.

From the Reverend John T. G. Nichols of Cambridge, the son of Reverend Ichabod Nichols, who writes : —

It is an honor I deeply appreciate to be associated with the venerated personages of whom you speak as the godfathers of your Society. Their memory is an inspiration to us, and Portland has reason to be proud of such a galaxy of distinguished men. As a Portland boy I remember very well Justice Mellen, also Governor Parris, and Messrs. Preble, Stephen Longfellow, Ezekiel Whitman, Nicholas Emery, and many others, distinguished lawyers, returning together from the Court House. I remember also Doctor Nathaniel Coffin, and the extraordinary beauty of his daughters. My father was never weary with expatiating upon the natural beauties and advantages of Portland. His church, of which he was the third pastor, was the mother church of the town. I am reminded that the passing years make historians involuntarily of us all. May your anniversary celebration pass happily, and may your honorable Society continue to fulfill its noble purpose of preserving and multiplying the names which will be an honor forever to Portland, to the state of Maine and to the world.

From Albion K. Parris, Esquire, of Washington, District of Columbia, the grandson of our first president: —

Thank you for reminding me that my respected grandsire and namesake was your first president, and please express to those who are fortunate enough to be present my hearty congratulations on the maintenance and success of the Maine Historical Society, whose aim has been to recite events of Maine history with truth and accuracy. Although born south of Mason and Dixon's line I am not unmindful of the New England blood in my veins, and I am proud of the history of Maine, and as the grandson of your first president respect the good influence Maine has exerted in the sisterhood of states through the influence of good men of both political faiths who have governed and guided her destiny. May her history be recorded by the Society in the future, as in the past, as rearing good men and true and faithful exponents of that prophetic saying, "With malice toward none, with charity for all." As Webster expressed it, "I was born an American, I live an American, and shall die an American." Good night to you all. I regret not to be with you on this memorable anniversary.

At the conclusion of the secretary's report the president called upon the Reverend Doctor Burrage, who stated that the Society had accomplished three important undertakings. It had awakened and stimulated in the state historical study and research, had published many important documents and historical papers, and had accumulated a valuable library of books, pamphlets and manuscripts. When, eleven years ago, the library was removed from Brunswick to this city, it had but forty-five hundred volumes and three thousand pamphlets; it has now increased to ten thousand volumes and fifteen thousand pamphlets. Our library

has attained a good rank in comparison with that of sister societies, and we anticipate a large increase in the future.

Mr. Baxter next introduced Honorable J. H. Drummond as a descendant of the sturdy Scotch emigrants who settled the state in early times. Mr. Drummond said he appreciated fully the great good done to the state by the Society. He thought the hopes of the founders had been far exceeded, and as yet only a beginning had been made. The original idea was to search out and preserve the history of the state. The time has come, however, to branch out to a more important object. The library is becoming more and more valuable to people from all over the state, and it should be the effort of all members to build and enlarge it as much as possible. As a step in this direction he thought the recent movement toward increasing the membership an excellent one along this line. The societies which devote their energies to keeping up a small and select membership and the preparation of historical articles are uniformly uninfluential. He thought there are many men in the state who could profitably be taken in. In this movement many different branches of the Society's work would be advanced. These changes he thought would be approved by the founders if they could be here and see the changed condition of things. It can be said of us that we have well builded on our fathers' foundation.

Mr. Franklin C. Payson was introduced as a descendant of the Society's first librarian. Mr. Payson

pointed out that he was himself not expected to say anything, but as a representative of his grandfather. He said that he could not describe Doctor Payson's work in behalf of the Society because no record of it existed. Knowing him as he did by tradition, however, the speaker said it was safe to say that he did his best toward keeping it moving. Mr. Payson then paid an eloquent tribute to the objects of the Society, calling it the slow and silent photography of civil growth, which, looked back upon, are called history. The value of anniversaries like the present was pointed out.

Mr. John S. Locke of Saco was next called upon, and spoke briefly on the desirability of a proper representation of the growth of the state of Maine at the forthcoming Columbian Fair at Chicago.

Clarence Hale, Esquire, was introduced, and made a few remarks on the work of the founders of the Historical Society, who were also founders of the new state of Maine.

During the evening the guests were entertained with the Edison phonograph, and at the close were photographed in a group by the aid of a magnesium flash-light.

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